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SCOTLAND AND THE CHURCH COUNCILS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE church councils of the fifteenth century, as has been pointed out by some historians, were only partially the result of developments within the body ecclesiastic. When once a council had gathered, it was usually governed not by constitutional theories, but by the practical political needs of the various nations represented. E. F. Jacobs has already pointed out the importance of the political factor in the English attitude towards the councils. This article will attempt to give some idea of the influence which domestic conditions had on Scotland's dealings with them.[1]

It was a time of grave internal problems for Scotland. As the century opened, the government of the country was virtually in the hands of the two most powerful nobles of the land, Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, brother of the king, and Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas. The king, Robert III, was a pleasant old man who apparently possessed considerable personal charm, but that was not enough to make him successful in ruling the lawless Scottish nobility. The result was that Albany and Douglas governed and directed matters much as they pleased.[2] Early in the century the

[1] E. F. Jacobs, "Englishmen and the General Councils of the Fifteenth Century," *History*, XXIV (1939), 212 ff.; J. H. Baxter, "Some desiderata in Medieval Scottish Church History," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (Edinburgh, 1926), 205.

[2] *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, George Burnett, ed. (Edinburgh, 1880), IV, lvi, ff.

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Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of the king, died under somewhat suspicious circumstances; and in 1405, while on his way to France to escape control of the two great nobles, James, the second son, was captured by the English. The same year, Robert III died, so Albany as regent reigned in his stead.

Since the Church in Scotland was the largest landowner in the country, the nobles desired either to take possession of its property, or to control appointments to ecclesiastical offices. Douglas and Albany in particular, had both been quite successful in such attempts to dominate the Church. They had gained their ends by giving the support of Scotland to the Avignon pope, who was only too glad to gain adherents by various concessions. Besides, whenever they sought a special favor from Avignon, they were able to bring to bear the influence of their ally, France, which resulted in their gaining papal approval for whatever they desired. Thus, contrary to the usual interpretation, it was not so much opposition to England, as a desire to control the ecclesiastical wealth of Scotland, which influenced their attitude towards the schism at that time dividing the Church. The dependence of the Avignon pope upon them for support made them content that the division should continue.[3]

A situation, however, which made such a state of affairs possible, was a positive detriment to the Church; and there arose an agitation for a general council to settle the matter. In this the University of Paris, hitherto a supporter of Avignon, took a leading part. On the failure of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII to reach an agreement concerning their mutual demission of office, the university in 1406 broke off relations with the Avignon pope. The Parisian action found support throughout the church. Therefore the two colleges of cardinals, having met at Livorno in July, 1408, decided to summon a meeting of the whole Church at Pisa the next year.[4] To

[3] A. R. MacEwen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (London, 1915), I, 302 ff; Wm. M'Dowell, *The Chronicles of Lincluden* (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. 45 ff; Sir Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1813), I, 49.

[4] M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Reformation* (London, 1882), I, 176-194; J. H. Baxter, *St. Andrews University before the Reformation* (St. Andrews, 1927), p. 5.

obtain general adherence to this gathering, they requested Charles VI of France to write the other kings of Europe, in order that they might send representatives to aid in reuniting the Church.

One of the kings mentioned was the king of Scotland. To him—really to Albany—Charles sent an envoy in the hope of enlisting his support, but without success.[5] There does not seem to have been any official Scottish representative at the council in 1409. It may be, however, that there was an " observer " present in the person of Adam Spark, Abbot of Kylwynyn. On November 27, 1408, he was granted a safe conduct by the king of England to go through the country to Rome, *vel alibi ubi unio sancte ecclesie Deo dante celebrari vel fieri contigerit*.[6] This may indicate the presence of Spark at Pisa, but that he took no active part would seem certain. Albany and Douglas were more interested in Benedict XIII's opposition council at Perpignan, to which they sent a friend of Douglas, Simon de Mandeville, Archdeacon of Glasgow. They had decided to support Benedict at all costs.[7]

The reason for this is clear. Being practical men, they had apparently come to the conclusion that by supporting Benedict against the council, they would be in a position to bargain with him by threatening to reject his authority. It was their policy to support the weaker party in the dispute in order to make it dependent upon their goodwill. Thus by helping to continue the schism, they increased their own power over the Scottish Church.[8]

This made the position of the Scots studying at the University of Paris very difficult. They had always supported Benedict against the English Nation's other members: Germans who favored submission to Rome. But now that the university had rejected

[5] *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, E. Martène, ed. (Paris, 1733), VII, 788-790; Noel Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1891), IV, 19, 60; *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, J. H. Baxter, ed. (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 228.

[6] *Rotuli Scotiae* (London, 1819), II, 190.

[7] *Rot. Scot.*, II, 185; J. M. Anderson, " The Beginnings of St. Andrews University," *Scottish Historical Review*, VIII (1911), 346.

[8] Valois, *op. cit.*, IV, 146.

Benedict, their situation was more critical.[9] If they did not follow the university's views, they were in danger of excommunication; and if they did, they were in danger of being regarded at home as traitors. Those who refused to accept the Pisan pope, and they were not a few, left Paris for Scotland, while those who accepted the council's decision continued at the university. Apparently it was for those who favored Benedict that a school was opened in St. Andrews in 1410, to become a university three years later.[10]

Since Scotland had refused to obey Pope Alexander, the University of Paris was not long in taking action to show her the error of her ways. On December 15, 1409, a joint embassy from Charles VI of France and the university was sent to Scotland. Matthew Monikedum, perhaps a Scot and *subbedellus* of the English Nation, was one of the envoys; but little was accomplished.[11]

In 1412 another embassy was sent, Thomas Erskine and Jean de Bienville, Abbot of Pontigny, being the representatives.[12] Since they, however, were as unsuccessful as their predecessors, Pope Alexander's successor, John XXIII, sent as papal envoy, Anthony de Challant, cardinal priest of St. Cecelia's, with legatine authority. But Benedict was able to offset De Challant's work by granting, at this time, university status to the school at St. Andrews. The results of the cardinals' activities were very slight.[13]

Meanwhile Pope John himself had been getting into such trouble that his only hope of continuing in office lay in aid from the Emperor Sigismund. But the latter would do nothing unless the pope would call a council to settle the continuing schism. This John XXIII at last consented to do, the proclamation summoning the Church to conference being issued in October, 1413.

[9] *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis,* H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, edd. (new ed., Paris, 1937), I, lxv-lxxvi; Valois, *op. cit.,* I, 121.

[10] *Auctarium,* II, 58; *Fasti Aberdonenses,* C. Innes, ed., (Aberdeen, 1854), viii [Spalding Club]; Anderson, *op. cit.,* 228 ff; C. J. Lyon, *The History of St. Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1843), II, 226.

[11] *Auctarium,* II, 66, 67, 107. Matthew complained later that his expenses were not paid.

[12] *Ibid.,* I, 118; II, 68.

[13] *Acta Concilii Constantiensis,* H. Finke ed. (Münster, 1896), I, 156; *Auctarium,* II, 162; *Copiale,* p. 387.

There may have been some Scots at Rome at this time, but who they were we do not know. The University of Paris, however, to obtain Scotland's support for the new council, despatched two more envoys to Albany. They were John Mullechner of Austria and John Gray, a medical man and a friend of both James I and the regent. These representatives of the university carried letters to James, the captive king, the regent, the Earls of Douglas and Mar, the Bishops of Brechin and of the Isles, and others. The first person visited was James, and after that they journeyed to Scotland with the usual lack of success.[14] The Scots adhered steadfastly to Benedict, as is shown by the petitions which continued to reach the pope at his retreat on Peniscola.[15] A second messenger from Pope John, James, Bishop of Landex, was equally unsuccessful. The Scots would not turn. Moreover, probably to encourage Albany in his loyalty, Benedict made a grant to the regent of half of all the revenues due to the camera from vacant Scottish benefices for the next five years. These funds were to be employed to ransom the king and Albany's son, Murdoch, from captivity in England. They seem to have helped Murdoch, but James was left for another ten years.[16]

On November 5, 1414, the Council of Constance was convened. Shortly afterwards John XXIII was deposed, and in July, 1415, Gregory XII resigned. The only obstacle left in the way of unity was Benedict XIII. It was, therefore, agreed that the emperor should visit him to obtain his demission of office, and to gain the support of his followers for the council. Benedict agreed to this plan. With his concurrence, the king of Aragon then wrote to Albany requesting that Scottish representatives be sent to Nice, where the conference was to take place. But when the time arrived, Bene-

[14] Finke, I, 126; *Auctarium*, II, 161; *Copiale*, p. 243; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, H. Denifle and A. Chatelain edd., (Paris, 1887), IV, 285; Valois, IV, 249. Gray had been sent as an ambassador from Scotland to the French court, and to the pope in 1412. We are not told, however, the nature of his ambassadorial work. (*Exch. Rolls*, IV, 163).

[15] *Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions*, C. H. Bliss ed. (London, 1896), I, 601, 602.

[16] *Foedera et acta publica*, Thomas Rymer ed. (The Hague, 1740), IV, 2, 87; *Copiale*, p. 241.

dict proved so obdurate that nothing could be accomplished. So unreasonable was he that even his own followers rejected him. A concordat recognizing the Council of Constance was signed at Narbonne in December by Sigismund as representative of the council, while a certain Coante Amonie signed *pro Duce Britannie, Rege Scotiae, Comite Norwegie et Comite Sabaudie.* As Ferdinand of Aragon stated in a letter to Albany, they had to support Constance, for Benedict was past all reason.[17]

It is difficult, however, to determine by what authority the name of Scotland was appended to the concordat. It may have been that King James authorized it, but that is not likely. Of Albany giving such authority, there seems to be no evidence at all. He apparently made no change in his relations with Benedict, even after a Scottish delegation met Sigismund in England. By July, 1416, the only supporters whom Benedict retained were the Count of Armagnac and the Scots, the latter at least being very loyal. Even James in England still treated Benedict as pope, for his chaplain continued to send petitions to Peniscola.[18] According to the concordat of Narbonne, Scotland was officially obedient to the council, but actually she still acknowledged the authority of Benedict XIII.

The year 1417, however, saw the beginning of a change. Albany could not oppose the council much longer. Not only did France disapprove of his policy, but more and more of the Scottish clergy were going in search of preferment to Constance, rather than to Peniscola. The Abbot of Pontigny had again appeared on the scene on behalf of the council, without accomplishing anything. But he was followed by an ambassador of greater influence—Finlay of Albany, vicar-general of the Dominican Order in Scotland. He was the duke's confessor, which may account for his success. In January, 1417, Albany promised to call a national council for the purpose of sending representatives to Constance. But for another year, he did nothing towards fulfilling his promise.[19]

[17] Finke, III, 418 ff, 437, 490; *Copiale,* p. 248, 255; *Corpus actorum et decretorum magni Constantiensis Concilii,* H. von der Hardt ed. (Frankfurt, 1699), IV, 585, 595; Creighton, I, 362.

[18] Rymer, IV, 2; *CPR, Petits.,* I, 605; Valois, IV, 349.

[19] Finke, II, 66, 72, 84 ff; Johannis de Fordun, *Scotichronicon cum supplementis et continuationis Walteri Boweri* (Edinburgh, 1759), II, 449.

Meanwhile Scottish opinion continued to grow more favorable towards the council and its newly elected pope, Martin V. Before January, 1418, such men as James Haldenstone, Prior-elect of St. Andrews, William Croyser, John Carstairs, Michael Ouchtre, and others of the clergy had appeared at Constance. Besides the recognition given by these men, petitions were also being submitted to the pope by James I, the Earl of Douglas, and Robert Keith, Marshall of Scotland. Since the pope was only too pleased to have these manifestations of submission, he granted the petitions without demur. Moreover, by acceding to their requests, he hoped to gain the aid of these influential men in bringing Scotland to acknowledge him. His particular interest, however, was in James, for he realized that there was little chance of Albany giving in without a hard struggle. James, on the other hand, might be used to counterbalance the regent's influence. Special privileges, therefore, were granted to Thomas Myrton and John Lyons, chaplains of the Scottish king, as well as to the king himself. This policy soon brought definite results, for James gave his formal submission on July 6, 1418. The young king no doubt was influenced by the hope that the pope would exercise his power to have him released, but Martin seems to have done nothing for him.[20]

Fortunately for the supporters of Martin V, Albany was losing influence at home. Age was beginning to weaken his control over the turbulent nobility, and over the Church. James, on the other hand had by this time succeeded in enlisting some of the country's greatest families on his side. The most important of these was the Earl of Douglas, who since 1414 had been working for the king's release. Along with this, the clergy were now opposed to the regent's ecclesiastical policy. Their consciences were troubling them because of his resistance to the lawful pope. Although Albany, no

[20] MacEwen is very much astray when he states (*op. cit.*, p. 313) that there were no Scots at Constance. (Thos. Dempster, *Historia ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1829), I, 195; II, 343 [Bannatyne Club], gives the names of two who, he says, were there, but we have no evidence that he is correct. We have evidence, however, that there were others. *A Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron, edd. (Edinburgh, 1934), xxix, 1-25 [Scottish History Society]; R. K. Hannay, "A Chapter Election at St. Andrews in 1417," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, XIII (1915), 326 ff.

doubt, still had considerable support for his adherence to Benedict XIII, clerical impatience at his slowness in rejecting the anti-pope was bringing the country to demand definite action.[21]

Martin's procedure at this time shows that he was well aware of the situation in Scotland. Haldenstone early in 1418 appeared at the curia with excuses, probably from the clergy, for Scotland's delay in fulfilling the promises of the regent. Simultaneously King James was showing a tendency to submit. Therefore, on March 1, Pope Martin appointed Griffin Young, Bishop of Bangor, and Finlay of Albany papal nuncios to receive the submission of James, the Estates, and all other adherents of Benedict XIII.[22]

In the following July, about the time that James accepted Pope Martin, Finlay arrived in Scotland. What influence he exerted during the next month, we do not know, but on August 9 the faculty of St. Andrews University held a momentous meeting in St. Leonard's Church. It was decided that the university would remove its obedience from Benedict to Martin, the rightful pope. But in order not to hurt the regent's feelings, it was decided to refrain from taking any drastic action until the whole matter had been laid before him and he had had time to persuade the Estates to adopt the same policy.[23] The result was a gathering of the Estates in the early part of October. After a lengthy debate between Robert Harding, an English supporter of Benedict, and John Elwald, Rector of St. Andrews, it was decided that the nation would accept Pope Martin. The strength of the pro-Martin group made it impossible for Albany to set aside this decision, but he protected Harding against the clergy, and even despatched an embassy to Benedict.[24]

[21] Sir Wm. Fraser, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 1885), I, 384; Finke, II, 180.

[22] *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters* (London, 1906), VII, 6; *Copiale*, pp. 10, 391.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 391; *Concilia Scotia*, J. Robertson ed. (1866), I, lxxix, [Bannatyne Club]; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[24] *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, p. 179; *CPR Letters*, VII, 154; *Copiale*, p. 3; Fordun, II, 449 ff; The Earl of Douglas seems to have been one of the leaders who advocated adherence to Pope Martin (*Copiale*, pp. 18, 27, 400).

Any opposition which the regent may have offered to the decision of the Estates actually accomplished little. John Haldenstone, William Stephen, Griffin Young, and others were appointed to carry the obedience of Scotland to the pope. They did not, however, fulfill their duties without discord. Young, a Welsh exile in Scotland and Bishop of Bangor by appointment of Benedict XIII, was ready to promise to the pope Scotland's feudal vassalage. Apparently the other envoys did not agree, so Young's proposal came to nought.[25] The important thing about the submission was that no concordat, similar to that signed with England, was granted to the Scots. Scotland submitted unconditionally. This explains developments which followed within a few years. Since papal power was in no way curtailed, opposition was bound to arise first from the nobility, whose control over ecclesiastical patronage was threatened; and secondly from the clergy, who were once again directly under strong papal control.[26]

With Scotland's submission, Martin V immediately began to assert his authority over the Scottish Church. Finlay of Albany and Griffin Young had been appointed papal collectors when they were sent to Scotland, and James Haldenstone now took their place. Shortly afterwards (August 31, 1419) Martin reserved for his own provision all cathedrals, monasteries, priories, canonries, prebends, dignitaries, etc., vacant from his elevation to the submission of Scotland to his rule. James I had already acknowledged the pope's right to them, but asked that they be given to his own particular friends. Albany, however, was in a very awkward position, for many of his nominees, having been provided by Benedict XIII, were in danger of losing their benefices. He therefore requested Martin to allow all those provided by Benedict to remain unmolested. This was granted. The regent at the same time attempted to obtain Martin's permission for episcopal confirmation of monastic elections without recourse to the papal See. Martin permitted this only in the case of monasteries valued at less than 150 florins.[27]

[25] *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, pp. 84, 119; *Copiale*, pp. 9, 390.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[27] J. H. Cockburn, "Papal Collections and Collectors in Scotland in the Middle Ages," *Recs. Scot. Ch. Hist. Soc.*, I, 195-6; *CPR*, VII, 8; *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, pp. 116, 162, 163.

This was the beginning of the problem of provisions which influenced much of Scotland's ecclesiastical policy down to the Reformation. Within a few years this question was to bring open conflict between the Scottish crown and the papacy.

But at the moment all was well. James I, the Duke of Albany, the Earl of Douglas, along with many bishops and numberless priests and canons were flooding the papal chancery with petitions. In fact business was so rushing that by July, 1419, the Scots felt constrained to ask for the appointment of a Scottish *scriptor in primaria* at the Curia "so that thereby Scottish business may be transacted better and more speedily."[28] Not only in name, but in actuality Martin V was recognized as pope.

Yet even as early as 1419 we see some indications of the coming storm. Before Scotland had withdrawn her obedience from Benedict, that pope had provided a certain John Bullock to the Diocese of Ross. Martin did not accept this provision, but appointed Griffin Young, Benedict's provisee to Bangor, to Bullock's bishopric. The latter refused to give it up. He was in possession, and he intended to remain so. Short of using force, Young could not put him out, so while holding only the title he was granted a number of benefices in France. Finally in 1423, while at Rome, Bullock was confirmed in his office and diocese, and Young was made Bishop of Hippo. The victory gained by Bullock was probably due to the fact that he was representing the new regent of Scotland, Murdoch Stewart. Robert had died in 1420, and his son and successor had sent Bullock to the pope with some petitions.[29] The pope could not very well oppose Bullock in the face of the regent's support. Thus the first conflict between papacy and civil government gave victory to the latter.

The petitions actually carried by Bullock are of some importance. They requested the confirmation of all benefices granted during the obedience to Benedict; the appointment of an official representative at the Curia for Scotland; the revocation of any un-

[28] *Scottish Supplications to Rome, passim*, p. 97.

[29] *CPR*, VIII, 119, 287, 447, 182, 464; *The Episcopal Succession of England, Scotland and Ireland*, W. M. Brady ed. (Rome, 1867), I, 143; *Copiale*, pp. 274, 391; J. Dowder, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), p. 216.

reasonable unions of benefices to monasteries; and the reservation of four benefices in each diocese of Scotland for relatives of the duke.[30] While the Scots were willing to submit they wished to get as much as they could for themselves.

The time was at hand, however, when obedience and self-interest would come into conflict. That would be the real test of Scottish submission. The first outward signs of how far Scottish obedience was genuine, appeared in 1424 at the Council of Pavia-Siena. The Scottish delegation was apparently headed by Thomas Morow, Abbot of Paisley, who held the position of chaplain to James I and also that of representative of Charles VII of France to the council. Another Scot that may have been with him was John Scrymgeour, personal ambassador of Charles of France to the pope. This close relationship between the Scottish and French parties, no doubt influenced the actions of the Scots.[31]

The connection of the two national embassies was made certain by the refusal of the Scots to be counted in the English Nation. At Constance they had been claimed by the English representatives, but they now demanded that they be regarded as part of the French Nation. The French were agreeable to this, but would not admit them until they had chosen the Nation's president.[32] The Scots probably joined forces with the French, not only because of Morow's and Scrymgeour's connection with Charles VII and from dislike of the English, who still held their king captive, but also because they agreed with the French desire to make the council the supreme authority in the Church. This spiritual affinity of the Scots for the French view appeared when Martin V dismissed the council. The English delegates had played politics with such success that nothing was accomplished, and so the pope dissolved the gathering as useless. In opposition to this action, Morrow made a violent attack on the papal prerogative. He denied the pope's right to terminate the council without its consent, he maintained conciliar supremacy, and

[30] *Scottish Supplications to Rome,* pp. 285, 286.

[31] *CPR,* VII, 141, 371; *Scottish Supplications to Rome,* pp. 60, 75; *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum,* A. Theiner ed. (Rome, 1864), No. 741.

[32] *Monumenta conciliorum generalium* (Vienna, 1857), I, 52; Hardt, V, 68, 86 ff, 102.

he ended with an appeal to a future council against the order of dismissal.[33] Morow was not only representing France in this. He was speaking for the Scots, especially James I whose chaplain he was. This is the first indication of a rising tide of Scottish anti-papalism.

That such opposition should come is not entirely strange. No doubt James was somewhat disillusioned by the pontiff's indifference to his plight. But what was even more powerful in developing anti-papal sentiment was the weakness of Murdoch Stewart, the new regent. He would permit the pope to do much as he pleased with the Scottish Church; and to this both clergy and nobles objected. Since they had been used to running the Church themselves and for their own benefit, they would not surrender without a struggle, what they had come to consider as their prescriptive rights.

However, before anything more was done, a considerable political change took place in the country. In the early part of 1424, James I with his bride, Joan Beaufort, came home. Although we do not know very much about his release, it would seem that it had been largely brought about by agents of the Earl of Douglas. This naturally gave the earl, and his son who succeeded him in 1424, a strong hold upon the king. Their importance in the kingdom is indicated by the fact that nearly all the main officials at court throughout the reign were either members of the earl's family or his vassals. Many historians of our period of Scottish history have ignored this, but it may explain many doubtful matters, among them James' ecclesiastical policy. It has always been somewhat of a problem how James, brought up in the Lancastrian tradition, suddenly became violently anti-papal on his ascending the throne. The dominant position of the Douglases, however, may be a sufficient explanation.

The most important ecclesiastical personage at court was James Cameron, a friend and former confessor of the Earl of Douglas. On James' return he became successively royal secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Keeper of the Great Seal, and finally Chancellor of the kingdom, reaching the last eminence in 1426. In that year also,

[33] *Mon. concil. gen.*, I, 53-60; Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

through James' advocacy, he was made Bishop of Glasgow.[34] This ecclesiastical politician wielded a great influence over the king, particularly in his relations with the Scottish clergy and the papacy. Cameron was, in turn, following out the views of the other members of the court, all of whom were Douglas men. Thus the ecclesiastical policy followed during the regency was continued during the personal reign of James.

Anti-papalism seems to have been the attitude of the court, and it soon appeared in its true colors. In the first parliament which the king held, it was decreed that a tax upon all land, temporal and spiritual, should be levied to help pay the royal ransom. Two bishops were appointed as the collectors. At the same time, it was made a criminal offence for any priest to go out of the country without royal permission, or for any clerk to purchase a pension out of any benefice in the realm.[35] The reasons for such actions were partially economic, being an attempt to keep all money within the country. But they were also ecclesiastical, for the purpose of restraining papal interference in the Scottish church.

In the following year an embassy from James appeared in Rome. It has been suggested that it bore a promise to abolish the anti-papal laws if a concordat were forthcoming; but nothing resulted. Then in 1426, Thomas Myrton, representing James, obtained a papal contribution toward's the king's ransom, along with permission for the king to nominate incumbents to fifty benefices within the country. At the same time John Cameron was provided to the diocese of Glasgow.[36] The pope was trying to be conciliatory, but conciliation accomplished nothing.

In 1427 two further laws were passed. One forbade the clergy to take money out of the country without first giving account to the

[34] *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland,* J. Balfour Paul ed. (Edinburgh, 1882), II, *Index nominum; Douglas Bk.,* III, 51; D. Cowan, *The Lord Chancellors of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1911), I, 177.

[35] Jas. MacKinnon, *The Constitutional History of Scotland* (London, 1924), p. 320; R. K. Hannay, "James I, Bishop Cameron and the Papacy," *Scot. Hist. Rev.,* XV (1918), 192 ff; John Major, *Historia Majoris Britanniae* (Paris, 1520), fo. cxxix; *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,* Thos. Thomson ed. (1814), II, 4, 5.

[36] E. W. M. Balfour, *James I, King of Scots* (London, 1937), pp. 138, 139; *Rot. Scot.,* II, 248, 253; *CPR,* VII, 30, 467, 478.

chancellor (Cameron), while the other interfered in lawsuits between clerks and laymen, to the advantage of the latter. To these was added a third in 1428, re-emphasizing the unlawfulness of going to Rome in search of benefices.[37] The Scots had taken the bit in their teeth. The pope, however, seems to have made one more effort to show James the error of his ways by sending Cardinal Beaufort, the king's uncle, to discuss matters with him. The two men met in southern Scotland, but nothing came of their talks.[38] Appeasement was of no use.

The pope now decided that strong action must be taken. John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, was, he felt, the main cause of the trouble. Therefore, Cameron must be dealt with summarily. To this end two cardinals were given the power to summon the said John for the purpose of examining him concerning his anti-papal activities. Here, however, a serious mistake in policy was made, for the man appointed to carry the summons to Scotland was William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. The mistake in appointing this man lay first of all in the fact that he was probably the greatest Scottish pluralist of his day. He was in constant residence at Rome from 1419 to 1429, spending much of his time seeking provision to Scottish benefices. But not only was his pluralism involved, there was also a personal antagonism between himself and Cameron. In 1427 the two men had joined battle over the authority of Croyser in his archidiaconate, Teviotdale being one of the two belonging to the diocese of Glasgow.[39] Disaster for Croyser could therefore have been prophesied even before he started for Scotland.

[37] *Acts*, II, 14; Sir Jas. Balfour, *Practicks* (Edinburgh, 1754), p. 30; Balfour-Melville, p. 152; Hannay, "James I . . .," pp. 190, 191.

[38] *Rot. Scot.*, II, 264; *Excheq. Rolls*, IV, ciii, 466.

[39] *CPR*, VIII, 287; O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Cologne, 1692), XVIII, 166. Evidence regarding Croyser's pluralism can be found in the indices of *Scottish Supplications to Rome; CPR*, VIII, VII; A. I. Cameron, *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices* (London, 1934). For the dispute concerning the archdeacon's powers, cf. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Cosmo Innes ed., (Edinburgh, 1843), II, 319 [Maitland Club]; J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), p. 220; Hannay, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Sometime early in July, 1429, Croyser reached his destination, where he immediately issued the summons to Cameron. The latter was in England on official business, so that Croyser could do little. The king, however, annoyed by the summoner's action, cited him to appear before the royal courts on charges of having obtained Scottish benefices unlawfully. Unable to face trial, Croyser fled the country without appearing before the courts, while James took possession of all his benefices.[40] How long this conflict would have continued it is hard to say, but an embassy sent by James to the pope succeeded in having Cameron exonerated on condition that Croyser would be restored to his benefices, and that Cameron would obtain the repeal of the obnoxious laws. Croyser was restored, but the anti-papal laws remained on the statute books without alteration.[41]

This was the situation when in September, 1431, the Council of Basle began to function. Martin V, who had died earlier in the year, was succeeded by Eugene IV. To the latter fell the duty of dealing with the council called by his predecessor. No easily fulfilled duty was it to be. The real problem involved was the question of ecclesiastical supremacy. Was it to be the papacy or the council which would rule? But that was not the question which worried the Scots. They were interested more in the problem of controlling the Church within the kingdom. Would the pope or would the council give the most freedom in the matter of provisions? How far would the king and the court be able to control ecclesiastical appointments? The king and his advisers seem to have decided that negotiations might be profitably conducted with both parties. The one that offered the most could then be accepted.

The Council of Basle was the first to make any move to obtain James' support. On December 19, 1431, a letter was sent to the Scottish king urging him to adhere to the council. This may have been conveyed to him by his secretary, John of Winchester, who had been incorporated into the council on December 15. Others there were in Scotland, no doubt, who like Winchester favored the gathering at Basle. The considerable number of Scots who had been

[40] Balfour-Melville, p. 174; Dowden, *Med. Ch.*, pp. 220-221.

[41] *Concil. Scot.*, I, lxxxii; Hannay, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5.

studying at the University of Cologne, a hotbed of conciliarism, would give the council their strongest support.[42] Yet in spite of any possible pressure, James took no hasty action. He did not reject the council's plea, but continued to make petitions to Rome.[43]

By June, 1432, however, the Scots had made up their minds to support the council. Cameron and the Abbot of Arbroath were issued a safe-conduct to go through England to Basle; but there is no evidence that they used it. Indeed, it looks as though they did not. On November 29 following, Cameron and thirty companions were given a safe-conduct to go through England to Rome. The next day, John Fogo, Abbot of Melrose, Walter Ogilvy, and others received a like permit to go to Basle.[44] Some have asserted that Cameron deserted James, going to Rome instead of to the council, but there is little evidence in favor of this theory.[45] What is probably closer to the truth is that Cameron was sent to Rome by James. Although the king was leaning towards the council, he was still willing to bargain with the pope. Cameron was the one man whom he could trust not to surrender the Scottish position. At the same time James sent an embassy to Basle to see what could be gained there. The pope, however, was the first to respond to James' overtures. William Croyser was again despatched to Scotland as papal ambassador, but nothing was accomplished, for the pope would surrender none of his prerogatives.[46] James, therefore, turned to the meeting at Basle.

On June 22, 1433, Thomas Livingstone, Abbot of Dundrennan, and the leading Scottish member of the council, was notified that a delegation would soon be on its way to represent James. On July 31 the formal letter of submission to the council was written, but the delegation did not leave immediately. Apparently the return

[42] *Copiale*, pp. 85, 431; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland in the Public Record Office*, J. Bain (1888), IV, No. 935; *Rot. Scot.*, II, 252; Baxter, *St. Andrews Univ.*, p. 10.

[43] *CPR*, VIII, 410, 408; Balfour-Melville, p. 203.

[44] *Rot. Scot.* II, 276, 280; *Docs. in PRO*, IV, No. 1056; Primrose, p. 72.

[45] R. K. Hannay, "*A Letter to Scotland from the Council of Basle*," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, XX (1923), 51; Balfour-Melville, pp. 203 ff.

[46] *Rot. Scot.*, II, 281.

of Cameron from Rome was awaited, for on August 14 James wrote Livingstone that the difficulties of travel had made it impossible for the embassay to reach Basle.[47] Cameron had apparently been held up by the hazards of the road, for he obtained an extension of his safe-conduct from November to January, 1434. By that time he was able to reach Scotland. Then on January 15 he arrived with the delegation at the council, into which they were all incorporated on February 8. Yet while Cameron was returning from Rome, Columba of Dunbar, Bishop of Moray, was despatched thitherward by James.[48] The policy of negotiating with both sides was to be continued.

Following the official acceptance of the council by the king, many Scots journeyed to Basle. Meanwhile Pope Eugene, also, had recognized its authority, which explains why Croyser, so recently in Scotland as papal representative, likewise appeared on the scene. He was not long there, however, before he made himself heard. In the early part of May he made a general attack on the worldliness of the clergy, omitting only his own besetting sin—pluralism. On June 4 he followed that speech with another in which he attacked James of Scotland, declaring that the Scottish Church was being deprived by the king of its rights and privileges. Although the Scots were very angry at Croyser's statements, discussion was postponed until Cameron, their leader, should return from an embassy to the court of France. We have no record that any further debate on the subject took place. There is little doubt, however, that Croyser would be more unpopular than ever in Scottish anti-papal circles.[49]

At this point there is something of a hiatus in our information. Scots continued to arrive at the council throughout 1434, but Cameron disappears from our view after his trip into France. We hear nothing of him again until May, 1435. At that time, he was in

[47] *The Statutes of the Scottish Church*, D. Patrick ed. (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 218 [Scot. Hist. Soc.]; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, J. D. Mansi ed. (Paris, 1903), XXIX, p. 613.

[48] *Rot. Scot.*, II, 281, 284; *Excheq. Rolls*, IV, cxii, 682; Hannay, "Letter to Scot.," p. 50; *Statutes*, p. 219.

[49] *Copiale*, pp. 278, 433, 484 ff; Hannay, *ibid.*, p. 52; Balfour-Melville, p. 232.

Rome, apparently in papal favor, for he held the position of papal referendary. Many have been the speculations about this apparent change of loyalty on the part of the Bishop of Glasgow. Some hold that he forsook James for the pope, while others say that he was rebuked by the pope and sent back to the council. Nearly all, however, believe that as a result of his going to Eugene, and his refusal to attack the pope too severely at Basle after his return, he fell into disfavor with his king, and was deprived of his chancellorship. Thus when Aeneas Sylvius reports that he was sent to Scotland in the summer of 1435 to restore a cleric to royal favor, it is taken for granted that it was Cameron's cause which he intended to plead.[50] The evidence in favor of such an interpretation, however, is based largely on inference. We have no evidence that Cameron was out of favor at the Scottish court, while, as for his losing the office of chancellor, the main evidence for that is a passing remark of Bower, the continuator of Fordun's chronicle.

On the other hand, there seems to be definite evidence that Aeneas appeared in Scotland on behalf of William Croyser. This is not surprising since the latter had doubtless increased his unpopularity considerably by his actions at the council. Indeed, not only were all his benefices again in the king's hands, but he did not even dare to appear in Scotland for fear of his life. To remedy this situation Pope Eugene first annulled the king's decree of confiscation, by a bull of May, 1435. Then shortly afterwards he wrote a number of the leading men at court concerning Croyser. After the ground had been prepared in this way, Aeneas arrived in Scotland. He had the twofold work of gaining Scotland's aid for France against England, and of having Croyser restored to favor. In the second of these he claims to have been successful, but it was not lasting. In April, 1436, both pope and council were again writing James on the same

[50] *CPR*, VIII, 282; Hannay, "Jas. I . . .", p. 195; *The Commentaries of Pius II*, F. A. Cragg and L. C. Gabel edd. (Northampton, Mass., 1937), p. 16 [Smith College Studies in History]; J. A. Campano, "Vita Pii II," *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, L. A. Muratori ed. (Milan, 1725), III, 2, 970; Balfour-Melville (p. 234) believes that Cameron deceived the pope in order to obtain certain privileges, and that it was Croyser for whom Sylvius appeared as advocate.

subject. This time they were successful, for Croyser was forgiven and restored.[51]

The acceptance of Croyser was but the straw which indicated the direction of the wind. Cameron, after his sojourn at the French court, had probably taken Dunbar's place at Rome; and it may have been, although we cannot say with certainty, that he had promised a change in James' ecclesiastical policy. Shortly after this, three Scots at the curia promised to have the king abolish the anti-papal laws. Of those who made this promise, Croyser was one, while the others were Sir Walter Ogilvy, and John Methven, Official of Lothian. The last two were both Douglas satellites and "king's orators." James and the nobles were becoming tired of the battle. The Council of Basle through lack of action had lost its influence.[52]

In 1436 James at last decided to submit. He not only received Croyser, but even wrote the pope asking that a legate be sent to Scotland to reform the church. This letter of submission was presented to Eugene before July 1, by Walter, Abbot of Arbroath, and John Cameron. The surrender was complete; and it was made even more emphatic by the envoys promising to supply the legate, Anthony, Bishop of Urbino, with 1000 ducats to be paid by the Scottish clergy. The papal representative also received from Eugene, considerable powers of nomination to Scottish benefices as well as other privileges. This all emphasized the fact that Scotland had been forced to give in. At the same time, to prevent further trouble, Cameron was not allowed to return to Scotland without papal or legatine permission.[53] Thus in every way provision was made against a possible recurrence of anti-papal legislation. But how successful these plans were, we do not know. In December, 1436, before the legate could meet the Scottish Estates, James had been murdered, and the country had passed under the regency of the Earl of Douglas. No record has been left of the fate of the "obnoxious" laws. It may be, however, that they were repealed, as we hear nothing more about them.

[51] Theiner, No. 745; *CPR*, VIII, 233, 234, 261; *Commentaries*, p. 17; Primrose, pp. 68, 69.

[52] *Copiale*, pp. 369 ff; *Foedera*, V, 1, 8.

[53] *CPR*, VIII, 230, 263, 288, 289, 290, 260; Theiner No. 755; Raynaldus, XVIII, 166, 167; Hannay, "A Letter to Scot," p. 53; *id.* "Jas. I . . .", pp. 197-8.

By this time Scottish interest in Basle had become weak almost to the point of vanishing. Pope and council were locked in the struggle for supremacy in the Church. In September, 1437, Eugene transferred the council to Ferrara. The council remaining at Basle followed this in October with a denial of the pope's power either to move its location or to call another council. Eugene, however, ignoring the conciliar fulminations, convened his meeting on January 8, 1438. This placed the issue plainly before the men at Basle, and before the Scots. Was the pope's authority to be recognized?

Some time in the early part of the year, word reached Scotland of the new council. Which gathering would be accepted? The nobility, headed by the Earl of Douglas and a few of the clergy, supported Basle, while most of the clergy, and probably a growing anti-Douglas faction, gave their adherence to Ferrara. For the time being, however, the traditional Douglas policy was followed. Not only were petitions sent to the council by both laity and clergy, but at least some ten of the latter continued at Basle in spite of papal anathemas.[54]

The most outstanding of the Scottish adherents of Basle was Thomas Livingstone, Abbot of Dundrennan. Apparently a thinker of considerable power, his support of the conciliar movement was based more on principle than was that of most of the Scots. He apparently attained considerable eminence at Basle, as shown by the number of important duties which he performed while there. With Aeneas Sylvius he read the citation of Eugene for contumacy. He was a member of the committee appointed to nominate the electors of a new pope, he, himself, being one of those chosen. Then shortly afterwards he represented the council at the Provincial Synod of Mainz. It is not surprising therefore, that Felix V, elected pope by the council, attempted to provide him to the see of Dunkeld when Eugene translated James Kennedy to St. Andrews.[55] Nothing came of it, however, as the papal party was by this time in control of Scottish affairs.

[54] Fordun, II, 479; *Copiale*, pp. 165, 372, 375, 483; *CPR*, IX, 21, 95, 143, 207; X, 210, 258, 452.

[55] *Copiale*, pp. 285, 305, 478; Aeneas Sylvius, *Commentarium historicum libri III de concilio Basilaensi* (Cattopoli, 1667), pp. 70, 75; J. H. Baxter, "Four 'New' Medieval Scottish Authors," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1928), 96, 97.

The change in the political situation had taken place as a result of the death of the Earl of Douglas in 1439. At that time two of the lesser followers of the earl, William Crichton of that Ilk and Alexander Livingstone of Callander, had gained control. As they were principally interested in establishing themselves, and keeping the Douglases out of power, they co-operated in ruling the young king, and in murdering the new Earl of Douglas. Soon they were joined by James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, who also had considerable influence at court. He advocated the acknowledgment of Eugene as pope, and the suppression of the adherents of Basle. To this policy Crichton and Livingstone gave their support. By this means they would gain the backing of the Church, and particularly of the pope against a revival of power on the part of the conciliar-minded Douglases. Therefore, when Felix followed his provision of Livingstone of Dundrennan to Dunkeld, with a provision of James Ogilvy to St. Andrews because of Kennedy's support of Eugene, it was entirely ineffectual. Even a letter to St. Andrews University, requesting its obedience, elicited no response.[56] Conciliarism was dying, because of the government's opposition.

In this connection it is significant that some of the clergy known for conciliar leanings were in disfavor at court. About this time, James II in a letter to the pope denounced Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, and Morow, Abbot of Paisley, for causing trouble in the country. They had been conspiring, so he said, for the overthrow of the government. If this is true, it would look as though conciliarism and "douglasism" were uniting in an attempt to put out the party then in power at court.[57] Such an attempt, if successful would result in the return of the Douglases to power, and the re-establishment of relations with Basle.

This is made perfectly clear by the activity of William Croyser. In 1439 he had been despatched to Scotland by Eugene to absolve Cameron from all disabilities. While there he must have been infected with the virus of conciliarism, for soon afterwards he appeared at Basle. Two years later he was back again in Scotland,

[56] *Copiale*, pp. 188 ff, 204, 302, 308.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 309.

this time representing Felix V. With him he brought notice of various provisions to Scottish benefices. The most important of these was the appointment of James, sixteen-year old son of the Earl of Douglas, and canon of Glasgow, to the see of Aberdeen.[58] The king was requested to bestow upon him the temporalities of his bishopric. This, however, was contrary to the policy of Crichton and Livingstone. Douglas did not obtain his diocese, with the result that Scotland almost saw the outbreak of civil war.

As soon as it was noised abroad that the son of the Earl of Douglas had been provided by Felix to Aberdeen, four bishops called a council to suppress the adherents of Basle. The leader in this effort was undoubtedly James Kennedy, who had received from Pope Eugene the power to do this. James the Gross, Earl of Douglas, replied to this move by gathering a band of retainers with whom he attacked and scattered the council. Not content with this, he attempted also to seize the temporalities of the four bishops and to depose them from office. The twelve-year old king (really Crichton and Livingstone) stepped in at this point, claiming that before such action could be taken a provincial council must be called. At the gathering which followed, Douglas boldly avowed his support of the Council of Basle. In fact he did it with so much fervor that some of the opposing clergy fled in fear from the meeting, which as a result did nothing. Croyser then returned in the autumn of 1442 to Switzerland, where he presented the obedience of the Earl of Douglas, and also obtained more extensive powers with which to deal with Eugene's followers.[59]

This was virtually the beginning of the end of Scottish conciliarism. A letter was sent from Basle to James II requesting his submission, but it was ignored. In September, 1443, James received another letter, this time from the emperor, requesting him to send a delegation to Nuremberg to discuss the power of the council. To this the Scottish king replied that the distance was too long for the time available, and that it made little difference anyhow. The whole question would be settled for Scotland on November 4 at a meeting of the Scottish Estates. When that day came around, with

[58] Theiner, No. 756; *CPR*, VIII, 294; *Copiale*, pp. 311, 312, 315, 320, 322, 483.
[59] *Copiale*, p. 323.

no uncertain voice parliament gave its allegiance to Eugene IV. All men were to acknowledge him, none either spiritual or temporal being allowed to change allegiance without parliamentary permission. The papal party had won, and the policy followed for forty years rejected.[60]

The official pronouncement, however, did not completely settle the matter. There remained a number such as the Earl of Douglas and his ally, the Earl of Ross, who did not accept the decision with any enthusiasm. It was the command of political rivals to whom they were slow in giving submission. Partially because of this, Baptista de Padua was sent as nuncio to the British Isles to proceed against adherents of Felix V. Shortly afterwards on Kennedy's complaint at Rome that conciliarism was not dead, the pope granted to him also authority to deal with the followers of Felix. With this power Kennedy, aided by the young king, strove to clean the poison of conciliarism from the land.[61]

Persecution, however, was unnecessary. The Council of Basle had become so weak by 1449 that it passed completely out of existence. Accepting Nicholas V, Eugene's successor as pope, it dissolved itself. Yet even before this, most of its leading Scottish supporters had deserted to Nicholas. Livingstone became a "bishop in the universal Church," holding a number of commendations; and Croyser regained most of his many benefices, including the archdeaconries of Teviotdale and Lothian. Even the Douglases were willing to give their obedience to Pope Nicholas. Earl William, who had succeeded his father some years before, went to Rome, probably in the company of Bishop Kennedy. His submission, however, may have had a political rather than a religious motive. Since he was making a bid for control of the crown, he felt that papal support might be useful. Thus by 1450, for one reason or another, Scotland again acknowledged the supremacy of the pope.[62]

[60] *Acts*, p. 33; *Copiale*, p. 330; Hannay, "Letter to Scot...", pp. 49 ff; A. Bellesheim, *A History of the Catholic Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), II, 81.

[61] *CPR*, VIII, 299; X, 1.

[62] *CPR*, X, 196; *Rot. Scot.*, II, 372.

This is the story of Scotland's conciliar movement. As can easily be seen, like most of the other brands, it was by no means purely ecclesiastical, nor was it democratic. The desire of the feudal element to control the land and wealth of the Church, was the determining factor. When the pope was willing to permit the nobles to do as they pleased in the matter of provisions, etc., they would give him their support. When, however, he would not permit this freedom, both crown and barons supported the councils, which were too weak to resist their demands. The victory of the papacy over Scottish conciliarism was largely due to the disintegration of the conciliar movement in general, and also to the division which came in the ranks of the lords themselves. A hundred years later much the same problem appeared. But this time the results were different. A weakened papacy and crown could do little against a united nobility supported by many of the common people; and Scotland separated itself from the Church of Rome.

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SURVIVAL OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY[1]

THAT the religious difficulties of the sixteenth century mark a profound crisis in the cultural development of western Europe no one will deny. For then it was that the religious unity which had so mightily assisted in the formation of occidental civilization was shattered apparently beyond repair. At the opening of the century all northern Europe professed the traditional faith. By 1600 large sections had been torn from the Holy See. Competing churches of Lutheran, Zwinglian, Anglican, or Calvinist origin had come into existence—largely on national or political lines.

Nevertheless the traditional Church weathered the worst of the storm. Triumphantly it again proclaimed its teaching, strengthened the allegiance of the wavering to the Holy See, won for the faith vast areas in the newly discovered wilds of the Americas through energetic missionary enterprise, increased its membership, and again took up its ancient role of shaping the religious life of millions—a striking turn in the crisis which began when Martin Luther nailed up his theses in Wittenberg. The questions here to be answered, so far as the brief space of a general article permits, are: How were these things accomplished? What forces enabled the Church to ride out the tempest? What men and women gave their love, strength, and intellect to achieve this end? What institutions were formed which helped them to face the enemies of the faith? What circumstances enabled them to score this significant victory? [2]

[1] This paper, without the notes here attached, was prepared to be read before a joint session (canceled because of the military exigencies) of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association at Columbus, Ohio, December 30, 1942.

[2] There is no need to cite here the titles of the more important books on the Catholic Reform by Droysen, Gothein, Kidd, Maurenbrecher, Philippson, Ranke, Ward, and others. More significant than any of these works is Ludwig von Pastor's monumental *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 16 vols. (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1924-33), now published in translation (*The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 32 vols.

To these questions a complete answer is not readily at hand. The Counter-Reformation—a term first applied to this theme, it appears, by Leopold von Ranke, has been variously interpreted and frequently in a most adverse manner. All too often have writers, proceeding from a patent misunderstanding of the movement, brushed it aside without attempting to grasp the spiritual forces which made possible the survival of the ancient faith and its institutions. For this reason the term has acquired a meaning at once inadequate and misleading. Derived from the German *Gegenreformation*, it implies that Catholic Reform was mainly a reaction to Protestantism and ignores the substantial spiritual forces still resident in the Church.[3]

Among these forces which helped to bring about reform, we should note first of all a persistent and widely expressed desire for renovation throughout the Church. There can be no question as to such need of reform, for it had been expressed repeatedly during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, particularly at the Councils of Vienne (1311-1312), Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-1418), and Basel (1431-1449).

Enmeshed in the feudal structure of society and bound to its ancient manorial way of life, the Church in its outward organic existence was hardly free to proceed rapidly and decisively. Even in matters pertaining purely to religion and discipline, it was difficult if not impossible to take effective and speedy action. For

(St. Louis, 1900-1941). Most suggestive is A. Dufourcq, *L'Avenir du Christianisme*. 1re Partie. *Histoire moderne de l'Église*. VIII. *Le Christianisme et la Réorganisation absolutiste. Le Concile de Trente, 1527-1622* (Paris, 1933), and IX. *Le Christianisme et la Réorganisation absolutiste. Saint Vincent de Paul, Pascal, et la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, 1622-1688* (Paris, 1936). In addition we should note G. Schnürer's excellent *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in der Barokzeit* (Paderborn, 1937) and F. Mourret's *A History of the Catholic Church*. V. *Period of the Renaissance and Reformation* (New York, 1930). The sections in J. P. Whitney, *The History of the Reformation* (London, 1940), new ed., devoted to the Catholic Reform are commendable. Suggestive also is V. Zabughin, *Il Cristianesimo durante il Rinascimento* (Milano, 1924). There is an excellent article entitled "Gegenreformation" in the *Staatslexikon im Auftrag der Görres-Gesellschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachleute*, herausgegeben von Hermann Sacher, new ed., II (1927), col. 389-396.

[3] Cf. R. Elkan, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Begriffs Gegenreformation," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII (1913), 473-493.

priests usually owed their livings in the first instance to secular persons who did not always scrutinize their spiritual fitness. Bishops and archbishops were in effect appointees of princes who bestowed episcopal posts to reward their faithful servants or strengthen themselves in their own political policies. Abbatial posts frequently were in the gift of some prince; and, as monastic inmates were all too often placed in cloisters by influential laymen without asking whether they were fit for the regular life, zeal and discipline declined. Frequently pressure exerted by laymen so interfered with the orderly management and normal religious life of monasteries that chaos, financial as well as disciplinary, resulted. And what was particularly harmful—because it set a bad example and encouraged confusion—was the way secular politics obtruded upon the Curia itself. Finally, the lack of a definite course of professional training for the priesthood made it possible for ambitious persons with little education or spiritual qualification to be promoted to positions with the cure of souls.

Other difficulties, springing from a different source, produced an even more dangerous crisis. The closing Middle Ages witnessed a remarkable concentration of political power in the hands of princes, whether rulers of great national states like England or Spain, or lesser princes like the dukes of Saxony. A new kind of taxation appeared which pushed aside older feudal conceptions of raising revenue; and a new army, a new navy, a new kind of justice, a new military strategy, and, in short, a new type of state emerged whose basic theory tended to be absolutist, based upon divine right. This placed in jeopardy the ancient conception of Church and State as parallel institutions in European society, each possessing authority in its own sphere and respecting the rights naturally belonging to the other. This relationship of co-operating partners could no longer be maintained when ambitious and masterful princes interfered in matters essentially religious.

But this growth of the new state, frequently buoyed by a nascent sentiment of nationalism, was not the sole or even the greatest danger confronting the Church. The temper of civilization itself was changing; the Middle Ages were passing, and a Humanist culture, secular in tendency, was undermining the old asceticism. The

growth of commerce and industry, the development of an advanced money economy, the appearance of large towns and a constantly expanding bourgeoisie paralleled this political development. The non-Christian ideals of classical culture now possessed a new appeal, and an esthetic dilettantism began to supplant the rigorous thought of the scholastics. Secularism and materialism, couched in artistic luxury which all too often avoided the hard processes of logic, seemed to sap religious life, thus weakening the ecclesiastical edifice just when its ancient position was being impugned by absolutist princes.[4]

Confronted by such difficulties: external—those induced by the economic, social, and political problems of the time—and internal—such as flowed from the chaos in ecclesiastical management and resulted in confusion and lack of discipline—the Church developed a new and vigorous type of spirituality. It blossomed in a remarkable series of writings, a much neglected type of literature which in its way deserves to be ranked with other aspects of Renaissance literature such as the sonnet, the drama, history, and the prose essay. Although many little spiritual books like the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Spiritual Exercises* have received the attention of scholars, these phenomena in the religious life of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have never been studied sufficiently. What such a study might be like may be illustrated by Henri Brémond's *The*

[4] Among recent books dealing with the difficulties confronting the Church at this time are R. S. Arrowsmith, *The Prelude to the Reformation. A Study of English Church Life from the Age of Wycliffe to the Break with Rome* (London, 1923); J. Mackinnon, *The Origins of the Reformation* (London, 1939); and H. M. Smith, *Pre-Reformation England* (London, 1938). Of a different nature are W. Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation. Eine Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1932), and the masterly volume by J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Levens en Gedachtenvormen der XIV^e en XV^e Eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1918), published in English as *The Waning of the Middle Ages. A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIV^th and XV^th Centuries* (London, 1927), unfortunately without footnotes. Especially useful because of their sound scholarship are R. Lossen, *Staat und Kirche in der Pfalz im Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster-in-Westfalen, 1907), and J. Vincke, *Der Klerus des Bistums Osnabrück im späten Mittelalter* (Münster-in-Westfalen, 1928). These are respectively Vols. III and XI of the *Vorreformations-geschichtliche Forschungen herausgeben von Heinrich Finke.*

Literary History of Religious Thought in France from the Wars of Religion down to Our Own Times,[5] surely one of the most significant contributions to the history of literature and, we affirm with confidence, indispensable to historians of modern thought. This work traces the development and influence in France of the devout life, beginning with the teaching of Louis Richeôme (1544-1625), a Provençal, a Jesuit, and author of many spiritual treatises, and the noteworthy St. Francis de Sales (d. 1622), about whom we shall have more to say in the proper place.

This new type of devout life was characterized by great systematization—consistent examination of conscience, methodic prayer, mental prayer, contemplation, and spiritual direction—in which the psychological aspect of religious life is strikingly brought forward. Its roots are to be traced deep into the Middle Ages and even Apostolic times. Its early beginnings may be found in St. Paul's insistence on the ascetic life (spiritual combat) as stated, for example, in his first Epistle to Timothy. Its subsequent development is a complicated theme; Benedictine, Dominican, and Franciscan influences all contributed toward it. But it was the Carthusians, who, because the manner of their life especially favored contemplative devotion, advanced the practice of spiritual exercise more than any other group of religious during the heyday of the Middle Ages.[6]

The *Devotio Moderna*[7] of the Low Countries, which made its first appearance in the fourteenth century, marked great progress in in-

[5] This is the title under which the first, and until now, the only volume of Brémond's monumental work was translated and published in this country (New York, 1928). The French title reads, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos jours*, 11 tomes (Paris, 1929-1935).

[6] For the history of Christian spirituality we possess a valuable study in R. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality from the Time of Our Lord till the Dawn of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1922); *Christian Spirituality in the Middle Ages* (London, 1924); and *Christian Spirituality. Later Developments.* Part I. *From the Renaissance to Jansenism* (London, 1927). An excellent bibliography will be found in A. Tanquerey, *The Spiritual Life. A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical Theology*, 2d and rev. ed. (Tournai, 1932), pp. xvii-xlviii.

[7] The history of the *Devotio moderna* has been treated by A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance. A History of the Devotio Moderna* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1924), a book that has not had the attention it deserves.

culcating interior devotion, because its devotees employed practical methods coupled with mysticism, which proved enormously effective in the town life of the Netherlands, Belgium, and neighboring parts. Founded chiefly by Gerrit Groote of Deventer (d. 1384), this *Devotio moderna* became the type of spirituality common among the Brethren of the Common Life as well as their feminine counterpart, the Sisters of the Common Life.[8] Noteworthy especially among Groote's followers in spirituality and as writers of spiritual treatises were Florentius Radewijnszoon (d. 1400), Gerrit Zerbolt of Zutfen (d. 1398),[9] and Thomas a Kempis (d. 1471), each one of whom contributed in some effective way to the devotional life of the time. Out of these circles came that classic of interior devotion, so tremendously popular for five centuries—*The Imitation of Christ*.[10] Likewise the congregation of the Canons Regular of Windesheim, a monastic order which fully embraced the *Devotio moderna* and greatly resembled the Brethren of the Common Life, emphasized interior devotion and helped to spread its influence far and wide.[11] These groups, however, did not possess a fully systematized method of devotion until Wessel Gansfort of Groningen (d. 1489), a pupil of the Common Life and friend of Thomas a Kempis, produced a "ladder of meditation," a work which exercised extensive influence.[12] Henceforth appeared a large number of devotional

[8] D. de Man, *Hier Beginnen Sommige Stichtege Punten van Onsen Oelden Zusteren* ('s- Gravenhage, 1919).

[9] G. H. J. W. Geesink, *Gerard Zerbolt van Zutfen* (Amsterdam, 1874). Cf. also W. Moll, *Johannes Brugman en het Godsdienstig Leven Onzer Vaderen in de Vijftiende Eeuw*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1854).

[10] There is considerable inconclusive debate over the authorship of this classic. Hyma's views on this point are instructive, but cf. the recent *The Following of Christ. The Spiritual Diary of Gerard Groote (1340-1384), Founder of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life*, tr. into English from Original Netherlandish Texts as edited by James Van Ginneken, S.J., by Joseph Malaise, S.J. (New York, 1941).

[11] J. G. R. Acquoy, *Het Klooster van Windesheim en Zijn Invloed*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1875-1880); J. C. van Slee, *De Kloostervereeniging van Windesheim. Eene Filiaalstichting van de Broeders van het Gemeene Leven. Kerkhistorische Studie* (Leiden, 1874).

[12] M. van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* ('s-Gravenhage, 1917). The title of his treatise is: *Tractatus de cohibendis cogitationibus et de modo constituendarum meditationum, qui scala meditationis vocatur.*

treatises showing in varying degree remarkable psychological skill in inculcating devotion.

But, contrary to usual representations, the Italian Renaissance also made noteworthy contributions to the psychology and literature of spiritual devotion. Undoubtedly we have all too much stressed the antagonism of the culture of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento to that of the Middle Ages and especially to its asceticism. So far as the achievements of Greek and Roman antiquity are concerned, it is certain that mediaeval theologians owed much to St. Augustine, mediaeval philosophers to Plato and Aristotle, mediaeval medical men to Galen; mediaeval practical men of affairs to Roman Law; and many a mediaeval writer arrayed his thought in the ancient Latin vehicle and sometimes was inspired by classical Latin literary forms as in the case of the scholars of the school of Chartres. Certain it is that the Middle Ages, far from shutting off the Renaissance from the civilization of antiquity, actually provided the medium for the direct transmission of some of the significant achievements of the ancient world to the time of Petrarch and the Platonic Academy.

The Humanist cult of excellence, so marked in the striving of the men of the Renaissance, also had its profound roots in the classical and mediaeval past. Henri Brémond has shown that this cult of excellence, as applied to Christian teaching, definitely had its forerunners in the Middle Ages. He held that the highest artistic and psychological expression of the Renaissance was not limited to secular things, as some historians have thought, but that it also was strikingly united with profound ethical insight and religious inspiration.[13]

Many a Humanist, for example, gave expression to this phenomenon in his religious life and writings. Thus Pietro Paolo Vergerio (d. 1440) and Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446) produced a new and fruitful type of education in which Humanist conceptions were wedded to Christian teaching. Ambrogio Traversari (d. 1439), of the Order of Camalduli, combined the new enthusiasm for the ancient classics and particularly for the Church Fathers with Christian thought. Other Humanists followed their example, especially

[13] Brémond has an instructive footnote on this point, *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, I, 4-6.

Pico della Mirandola, who tried to harmonize, but none too successfully, the thought of Plato with that of Christ, thus winning a wide audience for the ideas of the Platonic Academy founded by Cosimo de Medici (d. 1464), Gemistos Plethon (d. 1450), Marsiglio Ficino (d. 1499), and others.

From such forces subsequently, in part at least, came the Oratory of Divine Love, a confraternity which received the papal confirmation in 1516 or 1517 and established branches in the larger cities of Italy. Among the best known of the noble spirits that belonged to the Oratory were: Cajetan de Thiene (d. 1547); Giberti (d. 1548), later bishop of Verona; Aloysius Lippomano (d. 1558), Giberti's successor; Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (d. 1559), later Pope Paul IV; and other notables like Pietro Bembo (d. 1547), Sadoleto (d. 1547), Gasparo Contarini (d. 1542), and Giovanni Morone (d. 1580). The Oratory's extensive influence was felt by persons like Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna. Also outside Italy early in the century some prominent men like Sir Thomas More (d. 1535) and Lefevre Stapulensis (d. 1536) experienced its quickening power.

Although often speculative and flashily critical, appealing to the educated who looked to secular princes for favor, and generally aristocratic in character, the more extreme manifestations of Humanism did not touch vitally the great stream of traditional religious life which still coursed so vitally in Italy. Ludwig von Pastor has demonstrated this fact by giving a long list of notable persons of deep piety and exemplary life, of whom St. Catherine of Genoa (d. 1510) was but one.[14] Even before the close of the Quattrocento there was a growing tendency among many worldly Humanists to adopt a more serious view of life. Devotees of Humanism then turned their attention to the practical religious needs of ordinary men, encouraging interior devotion and personal sanctity. They sought to make the Christian religion a source of spiritual edification as well as a thing of beauty. A serious type of Humanism appeared also beyond the Alps, something which Professor Lindeboom has called "Biblical Humanism." Henri Brémond, however, named it "Christian Humanism" which, especially after the Coun-

[14] *Geschichte der Päpste*, I, 35-46.

cil of Trent, became organically bound to Christian thought and practice. After that date the term "Devout Humanism," which Brémond gave it, appears especially appropriate. Thus was the spiritually parched soil nourished and watered. What practical fruits did it produce? [15]

First of all, there appeared a voluminous and widely read literature, composed of small spiritual treatises dealing with methodic prayer.[16] Most influential was the Dominican Giovanni Battista Carioni (d. 1534), or da Crema, who wrote devout treatises based upon his experience as a spiritual director, the most important perhaps being the *Della cognitione et vittoria de sì stésso* and the *Via di aperta verità*. A noted priest of San Giovanni in Laterano, Serafino Aceto da Pratis (d. 1534), so admired these works that he too wrote several devotional treatises. Later other gifted priests followed this example, especially Lorenzo Scupoli (d. 1610), a member of the Theatine Order and author of the immensely popular *Combatimento Spirituale*, a work which passed through many editions, being revised and extended by various hands so that its original twenty-eight chapters finally were increased to as many as sixty-six. As a practical spiritual vademecum, this book was decidedly superior to the *Imitation of Christ*, which always remained a popular classic of meditation. The books by Carioni and Scupoli also marked a great advance upon Wessel Gansfort's treatise, for they possessed a surer method and avoided superfluous exercises. Laying out a definite plan of spiritual cultivation—a system of piety—consisting in prayer, frequent communion, and examination of conscience, they were characterized by an entirely new and practical spirit. Such, it should be stressed, were the peculiar characteristics of Italian spirituality more or less under Humanist Influence.[17]

[15] J. Lindeboom, *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland* (Leiden, 1913). See also L. Knappert, *Het Ontstaan en de Vestiging van het Protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche Stad* (Leiden, 1908), pp. 66-123.

[16] For many of the facts here presented and for extensive quotations from this literature, the reader is referred to the third volume of Pourrat's *Christian Spirituality*. A. Poulain, *The Graces of Interior Prayer* (London, 1910), also contains many apt quotations.

[17] L. Scupoli, *The Spiritual Combat; Together with the Treatise of Inward Peace*. A new Translation from the Italian of Lorenzo Scupoli (London, 1935).

But these Italian masters of spirituality, although influenced by Spanish writers, also contributed to the movement in Spain. García de Cisneros' *Ejercitatorio,* dating from the early years of the sixteenth century, undoubtedly owed something to Italian spiritual masters as well as to the writers of the *Devotio moderna,* especially *The Imitation of Christ.* That Cisneros' treatise helped to guide Ignatius Loyola is a well-known fact. But St. Ignatius in his *Spiritual Exercises* was no slavish imitator, for among his contributions was the emphasis upon the efforts of spiritual directors in guiding exercitants. The influence of the *Spiritual Exercises,* first upon members of the Society of Jesus and next upon the laity with whom the Society came in contact, was truly great.

Spain soon became the classic land of spiritual exercise; in fact, it became part of the Spanish way of religious life. This is clear from the numerous treatises on spirituality of which we shall, however, mention only a few of the greatest. The *Libro de la oración y meditación* and *Guía de pecadores* by the Dominican Luis de Granada (d. 1588) are the work of a capable classicist who joined Humanist refinement with genuine Christian spirituality. His Dominican contemporary, Melchior Cano (d. 1560), a philosopher and most zealous soul in quest of religious knowledge, although entertaining exaggerated suspicions of spiritual exercitants who he feared had too much influence among the distrusted Alumbrados, nevertheless produced the *De la vitoria de si mismo,* reminiscent of one of Carioni's important writings. Among other widely read books of this nature we should note Bartholomew of the Martyrs' *Compendium mysticae doctrinae,* a digest of spiritual doctrine and method, Peter of Alcántara's *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation,* and John of Bonilla's *Pax animae.*[18] But these and other noteworthy Spanish books were not the only great spiritual guides, however, for towards the end of the century there appeared in many lands similar

There is available a popular edition: *The Spiritual Combat: to which is added The Peace of the Soul and the Happiness of the Heart Which Dies to Itself in Order to Live with God* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, no date).

[18] *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation by Saint Peter of Alcántara,* tr. with Introduction and Sketch of the Saint's Life by Dominic Davis, O.F.M., together with a complete English version of *Pax animae,* by John of Bonilla (London, 1926). This is Vol. IX of *The Orchard Books.*

books—to mention but one of numerous examples—Robert Bellarmine's *Ascent of the Mind to God by a Ladder of Things Created,* a book which has never ceased to attract earnest souls.[19]

Far and wide, wherever the influence of the Church reached, these little spiritual classics effectively guided people in devotion. This literature was one of the forces which, according to David Knowles, " combines to give the professional director of consciences a place in the religious life of the times which would have astounded the religious communities of the Middle Ages, and would not a little gall those of today." [20] But we should not assume there was no variety; in fact uniformity in method hardly existed, the chief uniformity being the end constantly kept in view—the stimulation of devout religious life.

Augustine Baker (d. 1641), an Englishman who in spite of the official repression of the ancient faith in England came into the Church as a convert and entered the Benedictine Order, forcibly illustrates this fact.[21] The author of the long popular *Sancta Sophia* [22] and *The Inner Life of Dame Gertrude More* [23] objected to the severe exercises frequently insisted upon by confessors, preferring to lead exercitants to find their own way in spiritual life and not through excessive and what he termed artificial mortifications. He believed the most fruitful mortification was to be found in the trials and tribulations incidental to the experiences of every person who seeks to direct his life according to the counsels of evangelical perfection.

Although Baker worked primarily with men and women in religion, his moderation and particularly his basic conception of ascetic discipline, were peculiarly adapted to the needs of the laity. But

[19] R. Bellarmine, *The Ascent of the Mind to God by a Ladder of Things Created* (London, 1928). This is Vol. XVI of *The Orchard Books.*

[20] *The English Mystics* (London, 1927), p. 165.

[21] For David (in religion, Augustine) Baker, see *Dictionary of National Biography,* III (New York, 1885), 2-4.

[22] *Holy Wisdom, of Directions for Prayer and Contemplation* (London, 1890).

[23] *The Inner Life of Dame Gertrude More* (London, 1911). His *Secretum sive Mysticum* was published recently by J. McCann, in his *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Treatises of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1936).

it was left to another master, the author of the noteworthy *Treatise on the Love of God*,[24] to produce a book of spiritual counsel for all people. This was the noted Genevan, St. Francis de Sales,[25] who as bishop instructed in spiritual perfection many of his followers, of whom Jeanne de Chantal (d. 1614) was especially noted. His letters are a splendid source of information for all who would study his methods and learn what success crowned his endeavors. In the preface to his *Introduction to the Devout Life*[26] he described his aim and procedure as follows:

> Those who have treated of devotion have almost all had in mind the instruction of persons very much withdrawn from the society of the world, or at all events they have taught a kind of devotion which leads to this complete withdrawal. My intention is to instruct those who live in towns, in households, at the court, and who, by reason of their circumstances, are obliged to lead an ordinary life in outward show; but very often, under color of an alleged impossibility, are not willing even to think of undertaking the devout life, because they are of the opinion that, just as no beast dare taste of the herb called *palma Christi*, so no one ought to aspire to the palm of Christian piety, whilst living in the midst of the press of worldly occupations. And I show them that, as the mother pearls live in the sea without taking one drop of salt water, and as towards the Chelidonian isles there are springs of perfectly fresh water in the midst of the sea, and as the flies called *pirastes* fly in the flames without burning their wings, so a vigorous and constant soul can live in the world without receiving any worldly taint, can find springs of sweet piety in the midst of the briny waters of the world, and fly among the flames of earthly concupiscences without burning the wings of the holy desires of the devout life.

[24] *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, 2 vols., Paris (1925).

[25] F. Strowski, *Saint François de Sales. Introduction à l'histoire du sentiment religieux en France en dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1898). Cf. also the useful *Selection from the Spiritual Letters of St. Francis de Sales*, tr. by H. L. Sidney Lear (London, 1905); and M. Rivet, *The Influence of the Spanish Mystics on the Works of Saint Francis de Sales* (Washington, 1941).

[26] *Introduction to the Devout Life by Saint Francis de Sales*, in a new translation by Allan Ross (London, 1924). The quotations which follow may be found on pp. xxiii-xxiv and viii respectively. This is Vol. V of *The Orchard Books*.

St. Francis de Sales directed many penitents; but none of them responded in so ideal a manner as did Madame de Charmoisy. "I have just found," he said, "in our sacred nets a fish which I had so longed for these four years. It is a lady all of gold, and magnificently fitted to serve her Saviour; and if she persevere she will do so with fruit." In the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, she appears as Philothea; the book itself is made up of the spiritual counsels directed to her.[27]

Mysticism also flourished during all this period. A concomitant of the systematic asceticism of the spirituality of the age, it represents the highest religious life in the Church. But it is quite impossible to separate the devotional literature of the sixteenth century into two distinct categories, ascetic and mystic. Manuals of devotion like the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Spiritual Exercises* assume the ascetic as necessary to the latter.[28] Devout folk arrived at mystical states only after passing some time in the purgative before gaining the illuminative and unitive stages. There were many mystics in Renaissance Italy, some of whom lived quietly and unnoticed while others like St. Catherine of Genoa attracted much attention.[29] Among the many later proficients in contemplation we may mention the Carmelite Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi (d. 1607) who also became a considerable master of theology. The Dominican Catherine de Ricci (d. 1560), whose biography became a source of spiritual edification to many, exerted much influence through her letters written to persons of the noble class. The Poor Clare, Battista Varani (d. 1526), expressed her tenderest thought, mingled with Platonism, in the typically Franciscan manner of the Renaissance.

[27] It would be instructive to compare St. Francis de Sales and Philothea with Rousseau's Savoyard Priest and his auditor Émile in the Fourth Book of *Émile, or Education!*

[28] To the term "asceticism" as here used we give the traditional meaning —the pursuit of evangelical perfection guided by charity. Cf. J. Lindworsky, *The Psychology of Asceticism* (London, 1936).

[29] Fr. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends.* 2 vols. (London, 1923), 2nd ed.

It was in Spain, however, that mysticism found its classic expression.[30] In her numerous monasteries and also among the laity there literally were thousands of proficients in mystical devotion. Nowhere in all Christendom did the contemplative life produce so bountiful a literature. Among feminine mystics we need mention only St. Teresa of Avila (d. 1582), a masterful woman, able, pious, and reformer of the Carmelites. She had extensive contacts with her contemporaries personally or by letter and exercised great influence. Her writings—*Letters, Life, Foundations, Way of Perfection,* and *Interior Castle* rank among the monuments of the Renaissance.[31] Noteworthy also was another Carmelite, St. John of the Cross (d. 1591) who, although a follower of St. Teresa, was a genius of the first order. His *Ascent of Mount Carmel, Dilucidario, Spiritual Canticle, The Dark Night,* and *The Living Flame of Love* are

[30] The subject of mysticism is a difficult one because of the multitude of confusing definitions given. One may read an interesting discussion on this subject by D. Knowles, *The English Mystics,* Ch. 1. *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism* by Professor James Leuba (New York, 1926) fails to clarify the subject. He brings together phenomena which seem quite disparate and tries to give them a medical interpretation. The historian, confronted by a striking cultural phenomenon shared in by many hundreds of noteworthy people, finds here no help in understanding the wave of contemplation in Spain during the days of St. Teresa. Professor Leuba's prepossessions seem colored by his theological views set forth in two curious chapters at the close of his book. For more serious discussions on mysticism cf. *Études Carmélitaines: Mystiques et Missionaires,* 23e Année, II (Octobre 1938). These articles, written by competent scholars, present a very different and, to the writer's mind, a better view. See also an essay on this subject by J. Maréchal entitled "Professor Leuba as a Psychologist of Mysticism" in his *Studies in the Psychology of the Mystics* (London, 1927, pp. 217-238. For Spanish mysticism in general, cf. E. A. Peers, *Spanish Mysticism, Preliminary Survey* (New York, 1924); and *Studies of the Spanish Mystics,* 2 vols. (London, 1927-1930). E. I. Watkin's *The Philosophy of Mysticism* (London, 1920) should be read to counteract the theories of Professor Leuba and the psychoanalysts.

[31] R. Hoornaert, *Saint Teresa in her Writings* (New York, 1933), and H. Joly, *Saint Teresa, 1515-1582* (London, 1922). The writings of this truly great woman now are readily accessible in translation: *The Letters of Saint Teresa,* 4 vols. (London, 1921-1926); *The Life of St. Teresa* (London, 1904); *The Book of Foundations* (London, 1913); *The Way of Perfection* (London, 1925); *The Interior Castle* (London, 1921); and, for the sake of completion, we add *Minor Works of St. Teresa: Conceptions of the Love of God, Exclamations, Maxims, and Poems of Saint Teresa of Jesus* (London, 1913).

perhaps unsurpassed in mystical experience, even by St. Teresa herself.[32]

We have devoted what may appear to some as a disproportionate amount of space to the spirit and literature of spirituality simply because historians as a rule fail to stress it as a decisive element in the life of the time and the reform of the Church. Charity—the love of God and His creation—inculcated by the ascetic and mystical aspects of the new type of devotion, was a dynamic principle certain to find expression in the moral, social, ecclesiastical, intellectual, and artistic activity of the time. To the spiritual rededication outlined above, in which so many people in the bosom of the Church had a part, we must in the first place ascribe the survival of the traditional faith. Certainly the example of Protestantism sorely smote the conscience of earnest folk; it created in them a resolve to straighten out the religious life of the people and even the torpid clergy, who also were very generally submerged by the secular tide. To this extent we may assent to the opinion often advanced that the reform in the ancient Church was due to Protestantism. The emphasis usually placed upon the political influence of the kings of Spain and similarly absolute princes or upon other equally adventitious features of the movement springs in part at least from the failure to appreciate the profundity of the spiritual devotion exhibited in this crisis by many sons and daughters of the Church.

The new spirit of devotion speedily found concrete expression in the creation of new religious orders. It is not to be assumed, however, that the ancient monastic orders had outlived their usefulness.[33] The Benedictine Order had indeed suffered from its contact

[32] Bruno de Jesus-Marie, *St. John of the Cross* (New York, 1932); B. Frost, *Saint John of the Cross, 1542-1591* (New York, 1938); E. A. Peers, *St. John of the Cross* (Cambridge, 1932). The saint's works have recently been made available: *Complete Works*, tr. from the critical edition of Silverio de Santa Teresa and ed. by E. Allison Peers, 3 vols. (New York, 1934-1935). There also is a short abridgment: *The Mystical Doctrine of St. John of the Cross, an Abridgment made by C. H. with an Introduction by R. H. J. Steuart, SJ.* (New York, 1934).

[33] This topic still requires much research. Many writers have resorted to sweeping and unfair generalizations. Cf., for a better view, G. Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppressions of the Monasteries* (New Haven, 1937).

with feudal and manorial institutions. But there were model Benedictine houses scattered in various countries besides the reformed Benedictine congregations of St. Justina in Italy and Valladolid in Spain. Much as the earlier rigor of the Cistercians may have declined, the order showed considerable vitality during the sixteenth century.[34] The Carthusians were particularly vigorous, and in England produced a number of martyrs.[35] The Franciscans were by no means as corrupt as has so frequently been represented. At least the Franciscan Observants in England were resolute upholders of Franciscan principles and, as a result, frequently suffered martyrdom.[36] Likewise the Dominicans generally remained true to their ancient ideals. So also the Observant part of the Augustinian Order to which Luther belonged.[37] And besides these, there were the Brethren of the Common Life and the Windesheim Congregation of Canons Regular whose members were staunch upholders of the Church. But none of these ancient institutions which had served the Church so long and so well really could meet the unusual needs of the age. The new orders now created, excepting those founded by women, were as a rule composed of priests bound by the three vows but not subject to the ancient *stabilitas loci*. They were canons regular, but organized to meet some specific need peculiar to the new age. Educated in the newer methods inspired by Humanism, more alert to the great moral crisis before them, they were able to combat rampant evils in public and private life.

Among these new orders we should note first the Theatines, founded in 1524.[38] Recruited from the Oratory of Divine Love, its

[34] A. Le Bail, *L'Ordre de Citeaux, "La Trappe"* (Paris, 1924), pp. 39-45.

[35] L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse: Its Monks and its Martyrs. With a Short Account of the English Carthusians after the Dissolution* (London, 1889); David G. Mathew, *The Reformation and the Contemplative Life* (New York, 1934).

[36] F. B. Steck, *Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England* (Chicago, 1920); R. Fruin, "De Gorcumsche Martelaren," in Robert Fruin's *Verspreide Geschriften*, II ('s- Gravenhage, 1900), 277-335.

[37] For the Conventual and Observant Augustinians, cf. J. MacKinnon, *Luther and the Reformation*, I (London, 1925), 140-142.

[38] P. A. Kunkel, *The Theatines in the History of Catholic Reform before the Establishment of Lutheranism* (Washington, 1941).

members felt the rekindling spirit of devotion and addressed themselves to the moral rejuvenation of society by preaching, taking care of the sick in hospitals and private homes, giving catechetical instruction, administering the sacraments, helping the destitute especially when Rome was mercilessly sacked in 1527, and, last but not least, providing for the education of a zealous priesthood. This practical example of noble solicitude for the unfortunate shown by pure-minded and unselfish priests created a profound impression.

The Sommaschi, like the Theatines, were deeply impressed by the misfortunes of the innocent and helpless. The wars of the balance of power between Charles V and Francis I had wrought extensive havoc in the thickly populated Milanese and adjacent parts of Lombardy. The towns and countryside swarmed with orphaned and abandoned children growing up in indolence and vice. The gentle St. Jerome Emiliani (d. 1537), a Venetian nobleman, was so touched by their pathetic condition that he took some of them into his own house and soon founded homes and hospitals for others in Como, Verona, Milan, Venice, and other places. St. Jerome's piety resembled that of the Theatines. His association, confirmed in 1540, affiliated with the Theatines in 1547 and finally, in the seventeenth century, was constituted as a separate order.

A third order, the Barnabites, in 1530 sprang from the same conditions and contributed greatly toward the spiritual rehabilitation of Italian society. Their founder, Antonio Maria Zaccaria, like St. Jerome Emiliani, was tutored in the piety of the Oratory of Divine Love and the Theatines and grieved over the growing laxity in the life of the people, which the Barnabites sought to counteract by moral instruction, preaching, and relief of the poor. "They took pains to stir the feelings of the ruder sort of people by open-air missions and public exercises of penance; they were to be seen, crucifix in hand, preaching in the most crowded thoroughfares; some carried heavy crosses, others confessed their sins aloud," writes Pastor. Possessing great sociological significance, this order grew steadily, founded many houses, and became an important agent in social regeneration.

Springing from the same spiritual needs and out of the devotion which had produced the Theatines, Sommaschi, and Barnabites, was

the Congregation of the Oratory.[39] It grew up around the efforts of St. Philip Neri (d. 1594), truly one of the noblest characters of the sixteenth century, who attracted groups of zealous priests seeking spiritual edification through mental prayer, spiritual reading, informal discussions, frequent communion, attendance upon the sick in hospitals, and instruction in the faith. St. Philip's humanity, moderation, unquestioned devotion, and purity of motive won many a soul. The Oratory became powerful in Rome and exercised a mighty influence in the moral uplift of all classes wherever it was most needed.

There were other organizations, each of which in its special way illustrated the contagious example of charity in an environment where rigorous devotion became more and more common. Among these were congregations of secular priests, the Spanish Brothers of Mercy founded in 1540 by St. John of God for the purpose of tending the sick; the Fathers of a Good Death, founded by Camillus de Lellis in 1584, also to care for the sick, spiritually as well as corporeally; the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, established by Caesar de Bus in 1592; the Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo, organized in 1578, who were effective assistants to the great cardinal in his reform of the see of Milan; and the Piarists, who owed their existence (1597) to Joseph Calasanza, a Spaniard interested in the education of boys. Important also were the Capuchins, who in 1528 broke from the Observant Franciscans under the leadership of the Italian Matteo da Bascio.[40] In them appeared an intensified Franciscanism which made the Capuchins a mighty force among the lower classes, especially in towns.

To these striking examples of devotion we should add the Ursulines of St. Angela of Brescia, organized in 1537 for the moral and mental development of young girls, especially waifs and orphans. Significant also as indicating the new trend were the Angelicals or Guastallines, founded by Luigia Torelli, countess of Guastalla. That zealous woman, deeply impressed and directed by Zaccaria,

[39] L. Ponnell and L. Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 1515-1595* (London, 1932).

[40] Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins. A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1929).

founded a number of houses for women who co-operated with the Barnabites in carrying out their social gospel. Their active work in charity, unfortunately, brought upon them undeserved criticism which caused Pope Paul III to order strict cloister upon them. In France the work of St. Francis of Sales and St. Jeanne de Chantal in 1610 led to the creation of the Nuns of the Visitation. Its members followed the rules laid down by St. Francis de Sales and made it a part of their devotion to visit the sick in their homes and also in the hospitals.

But important as each of these new foundations proved to be—and their significance must not be minimized—even more effective and more widely influential was the Society of Jesus which began in 1534 and received papal confirmation six years later. The story of St. Ignatius Loyola's career is so well known that we need not recount it here. But it is essential to emplasize his remarkable skill as a spiritual drill master in whose hands the *Spiritual Exercises* proved a most successful means to strengthen devotion among his followers, whether in the Society or outside. St. Ignatius had no specific social or religious mission in mind. What he wished to do was well summed up in the Jesuit motto: to labor *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.* As opportunity presented itself, he and his followers successfully put their hands to whatever tasks seemed to demand attention—preaching to the spiritually neglected, helping the poor, teaching the youth, engaging in scholarly study and controversy, bringing the gospel to the heathen, and, finally, taking up the cudgels against heresy. Truly, surveying the history of the time and reflecting upon the spirituality of the century, we can state without hesitation that the Society of Jesus was a vital agency in promoting religious and moral revival and ecclesiastical reform.[41]

Such influences, expressed in so many forceful ways, welled up in the bosom of the traditional Church. That they should express themselves in increased conviction and dogmatic fervor was in-

[41] There is a multitude of books on the Jesuits, but many of them are unreliable. T. Campbell's *The Jesuits, 1534-1921* (New York, 1921) is still good, but M. P. Harney's *The Jesuits in History. The Society of Jesuits through Four Centuries* (New York, 1941) will long remain unsurpassed. For the beginnings of the order, cf. the exceptionally fine *Origin of the Jesuits* by J. Brodrick (London, 1940).

evitable. But they also were translated into social action, for the teachings of Christianity are in their aim ascetic as well as dogmatic, moral, and mystical. This is exactly what we should expect if we keep in mind the earlier history of the Church. Each of the great monastic movements had its social and moral significance in the life of the time when it flourished. Even the smaller orders, limited as to time and place, also exerted a very considerable influence.[42]

How could these forces springing from a newly found strength of conviction be successfully implemented? An ancient institution, embracing a territory more extensive than that of any secular state, enmeshed in the feudal, manorial, town, and national politics of the closing Middle Ages, the Church could not readily act upon the promptings for reform to be heard on every hand. Were not abbots, bishops, archbishops, and popes all too often appointed under pressure of political interests? The election of Adrian VI (1522-1523), a Netherlander who had been under the tuition of the Brethren of the Common Life and besides was deeply stirred by the reforming work of Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, seemed to mark a turning point in papal policy.[43] Unfortunately, his speedy demise frustrated hope for immediate reform. The pontificate of Clement VII (1523-1534) accomplished nothing remarkable and even that of Paul III (1534-1549) at first seemed to promise little.

But Paul III, knowing that changes were long overdue and, in fact, urgently needed if Protestantism were to be checked, finally moved. In 1535 and 1536 he promoted to the cardinalate men of unquestioned piety, some of whom were inspired by the newer type

[42] For a stimulating account of mediaeval monasticism cf. F. Pijper, *De Kloosters* ('s-Gravenhage, 1916), the best one-volume treatment of the subject. Cf. also an article by W. Wilson, "A Note on Christian Captives in North Africa," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (1942-1943), 491-498, which deals with the successful efforts of Jerome Gracián to free Christian captives from the slave prisons of Tunis. This shows how the new spirituality might find expression in social problems. Gracián was spiritual director of St. Teresa and first Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites. Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI, 729-730.

[43] R. Merton's *Cardinal Ximenes and the Making of Spain* (London, 1934) does not sufficiently bring out Ximenes' importance as an ecclesiastical reformer nor his connection with the spirituality of the day.

of devotion. Among them were Gasparo Contarini, Caraffa of the Theatines, Sadoleto, and Reginald Pole. On November 13, 1536, the pontiff declared in consistory that reform of the Church in head and members should be the immediate aim of the papal court. Meanwhile the Commission of Nine named by Paul III in May, 1535, had surveyed the need of reform and in 1537 presented a frank report of needed changes and a definite program of action. This memorable document, signed by Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoleto, Pole, Giberti, Cortese—to mention only the most prominent—breathed the spirit of the serious men and women who, in cloister and out, prayed and labored for the renovation of the ecclesiastical organization.[45]

Although Paul III had recognized the urgent need for reform from the beginning of his pontificate, he had found it hard to move consistently. Nevertheless he was responsible for many reform measures. Finally, on May 22, 1542, he issued the bull convoking the great reform council which began its sessions at Trent in 1545 and sat intermittently during the pontificates of Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV, and Pius IV. The disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent, which covered most aspects of ecclesiastical life, had been foreshadowed in the report of Paul III's Commission of Nine and in such zealous diocesan administrations as that of Bishop Giberti of the see of Verona. Like them, the decrees and canons concerning religious life sprang from the deepening convictions of the age. This was inevitable, for not only did reforming prelates who had shared in the new devotion attend the Council, but also Jesuit fathers whose piety had been powerfully formed by the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius.[46]

Thus auspiciously begun, the reform movement received further stimulus from the energetic—all too energetic, it might be said—

[44] C. Capasso, *Paolo III, 1534-1549*, 2 vols. (Messina, 1923-1924).

[45] The report is printed in B. Kidd's *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 307-318.

[46] The labors of the Fathers of Trent are now readily available in H. Schroeder's excellent *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. Original Text with English Translation* (St. Louis, 1941). F. Kinsman's *Trent; Four Lectures on Practical Aspects of the Council of Trent* (New York, 1921) has not had the attention of scholars and the reading public it deserves.

Paul IV, as Caraffa was known while occupying the Chair of Peter from 1555 to 1559. This former member of the Oratory of Divine Love and co-founder of the Theatines did not hesitate personally and vigorously to initiate reforms which former pontiffs had shrunk from suggesting even in the most diplomatic manner. The full effect of the labors of the Fathers at Trent, however, became more and more apparent when Pius IV (1559-1565) started to apply the decrees of the Council and began the preparation of the profession of faith based upon them. Under Pius V (1565-1572), surely one of the striking characters of the time, great strides were made in discipline, renovation of abuses, and the stimulation of religious life. The breviary and missal were corrected and the *Roman Catechism* was finished. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) continued this work and founded colleges for training clergy to labor among the Greeks, Maronites, Armenians, Germans, and others. These pontiffs, as well as Sixtus V (1585-1590),[47] also inaugurated many practical reforms.

At once vigorous steps were undertaken to reform the training of the priesthood. Humanist education with its emphasis upon the cultivation of literary style, philology, classical letters, philosophy, and theology was accepted as the indispensable foundation for a successful clerical career. The ancient liberal arts as a propaedeutic now were expanded and the easy-going methods of mediaeval schools abandoned. Further, such educational preparation was coupled with spiritual training in a new institution, the clerical seminary, which combined some of the best ideas of the former schools with the practices of monasteries. The fifth session of Trent laid down the rules for lectureships in biblical literature, the twenty-third prescribed the establishment of seminaries in each diocese.

St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, greatly influenced by the practical reforms of Giberti and Lippomano, his successor in the see of Verona, took a lead in establishing a model seminary, an example followed wherever bishops were able to do so, first in Italy and thereafter in other parts of Christendom. By the close of the

[47] *The Life and Times of Sixtus the Fifth by Baron Hübner,* tr. by H. E. H. Jerningham, 2 vols. (London, 1872), although still worth consulting, has little to say about the growing emphasis upon the newer methods of devotion.

century the Jesuits, acting upon their unusual success as teachers of youth, produced their *Ratio Studiorum* which henceforth provided a basic pedagogy as well as philosophy of education for the training of laymen as well as candidates for the priesthood. And so it came to pass that many devoted priests brought up in the piety of the *Combatimento spirituale,* the *Spiritual Exercises,* and similar books of devotion presented themselves for the pastoral office.

Soon also appeared eminent scholars who combined the best in Humanism with the new spirituality. To combat the bitter critics of the Church, Cesare Baronius (d. 1607), a member of the Oratory, in 1588 began to publish his *Annales ecclesiasticae,* a truly noteworthy work in which appeared a vast number of documents from papal archives illustrating the history of the papacy. Though defective from a palaeographical standpoint, this monumental work must still be consulted by historians, particularly mediaevalists. As a work of scholarship—considering the general condition of critical historical scholarship at that time—it is distinctly superior to the work of the Magdeburg Centuriators. The Oratory attracted a number of able musicians—among them Giovanni Animuccia (d. 1571), who was *maestro di capello* in St. Peter's, and the renowned Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (d. 1594). These, together with Francisco Soto (d. 1619) and others, brought to full fruition the development of polyphonic music. Soon also appeared the oratorio, a new artistic vehicle for the dissemination of spiritual seriousness, which speedily received universal acclaim.

The deepening devotion of the age could not but leave its mark upon scholarship, particularly in Spain, where the tumults of the century passed more or less unnoticed.[48] There the *philosophia perennis* was cultivated in spite of the emphasis which some Italian

[48] It seems necessary here to call attention to the fact that the traditional views about Spanish culture sadly need to be reviewed. Especially valuable are R. T. Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621* (London, 1937) and G. J. Geers, *De Renaissance in Spanje. Kultuur—Litteratuur—Leven,* met Medewerking van Dr. Joh. Brouwer (Zutphen, 1932). R. Merriman's *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New,* 4 vols. (New York, 1918-34), likewise is a useful corrective. Cf. also F. Tschan, "The Fundamental Causes of the Decadence of Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review,* X (1925-1926), 265-284.

Humanists were placing upon a metaphysics based essentially upon naturalism.[49] To give here a list of the large number of distinguished philosophers who did not submit to the tide of misunderstanding criticism, not to mention abuse, of scholastic philosophy is impossible. The Dominican Order produced Francisco Vittorio (d. 1566), Melchior Cano (d. 1560), Dominico Bánez (d. 1604), and especially John of St. Thomas (d. 1644), the author of a significant commentary on St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*. But extensive as the influence of these distinguished thinkers proved to be, that of the Jesuits proved fully as decisive. Teaching at the universities of Alcalá, Salamanca, Coimbra, Rome, and many schools of less reputation, they guided the development of theology and philosophy in Catholic circles. Among them were Francisco Toledo (d. 1596), Pedro de Fonseca (d. 1597), Luis de Molina (d. 1601), and Francisco Suárez (d. 1617).[50]

The scholarship thus inspired ranks very high in the intellectual history of the century. The *Complutensian Polyglot* produced at Alcalá under the influence of Cardinal Ximenes (d. 1518), uncle of García de Cisneros, certainly was the most significant scholarly work expended upon biblical textual criticism at that time. As a biblical commentator, the Jesuit Maldonatus (d. 1583) had few if any equals. Robert Bellarmine (d. 1621) from Tuscany, also a Jesuit and the author of a number of spiritual treatises, as we have learned, was one of the greatest among the scholars of the age.[51] His works on theology, law, and government attracted general attention. And, besides, in the Jesuit schools, physics, mathematics, astronomy, music, geography, and literature generally received serious attention.

[49] J. Maritain, "The Conflict of Methods at the End of the Middle Ages," *The Thomist*, III (1941), 527-538.

[50] G. Smith (ed.), *Jesuit Thinkers of the Renaissance. Essays Presented to John F. McCormick, SJ., by his Students on the Occasion of the Sixty-Fifth Anniversary of his Birth* (Milwaukee, 1939); J. Brodrick, *The Life and Work of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellarmine, SJ.*, 2 vols. (London, 1928), and *Saint Peter Canisius, SJ., 1521-1597* (London, 1935); and J. Fichter, *Man of Spain, Francis Suárez* (New York, 1940).

[51] E. Ryan, *The Historical Scholarship of Saint Bellarmine* (Louvain, 1936); R. Bellarmine, *De Laicis, or the Treatise on Civil Government*, ed. by K. Murphy (New York, 1928).

Strengthened by the zeal of a revived faith, the sons of the Church with singular devotion went forth to win new peoples to the faith. St. Francis Xavier traveled to India, Malaya, and Japan; and only death, which came to him at Sancian in 1552, prevented him from entering China, at that time forbidden to foreigners. Abyssinia, the Congo, Mexico, South America, and Central America attracted Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans. And in the wilds of North America Jesuit missioners moved among the Indian tribes, sometimes finding martyrdom and always seeking to advance Christ's kingdom.[52] But nowhere were these missioners so successful as in Mexico, Central America, and South America. New Spain became a cultural offshoot of old Spain. Merging the culture of the old world with that of the American aborigine was a stupendous task; and the story of European exploitation of the native red man is not very pleasant reading. We may, however, oppose to it the labors of Bartolomé de Las Casas (d. 1566), even though he sometimes failed to realize the full implications of the ideals he cherished, a fact which we who are better instructed in a sounder science of cultural anthropology, can, in view of the insurmountable difficulties confronting him in a novel situation, understand and perhaps readily pardon.[53]

In literary expression also we note the effects of the resurgence of a vital and militant faith. This theme, altogether too complex and too significant for the future to be discussed here, must be disposed of in a few words. The new spirit soon began to make itself felt in the realm of literature. Questionable books like Lorenzo Valla's *De voluptate* were banned. Others like Erasmus' *Colloquia familiaria* which emphasized the shortcomings of priests and indulged in exaggerations and half-truths were no longer permitted in the schools. Much regret has been expressed over the rigid re-

[52] J. Brodrick, *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1940); H. J. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 2 vols. (London, 1872); J. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in the Sixteenth Century New Spain* (Berkeley, 1938); E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).

[53] F. A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas; His Life, his Apostolate and his Writings* (New York, 1909), which, however, does not concern itself with the spirituality of Las Casas.

moval of these and other Humanist literary productions from active circulation among the devout and loyal. But that it is doubtful whether such stern policy really suppressed literary effort is shown by the attitude of Pietro Bembo (d. 1547), a man whose early career was anything but edifying, but whose later years revealed positive amendment under the influence of reviving seriousness among many of the Humanist elite. A master of elegant diction, Bembo wedded his Latin of Ciceronian purity to the practical uses that the Church had for it. Many a writer expressed his serious convictions in Latin and also in the vernacular.

But merely to list the noteworthy writers of each country would be a tiresome task. In Italy [54] there was Torquato Tasso (d. 1595); in Spain, St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa, to mention only two writers; [55] in the hostile Netherlands, Joost Vanden Vondel (d. 1679)—a writer altogether too much neglected by current scholarship; [56] and in England, a country where one would scarcely expect to find writers championing Catholic piety, there was the poet Richard Crashaw (d. 1649). [57] In France a significant school of writers appeared, all inspired by the "Devout Humanism" which, according to Henri Brémond, now triumphed. We have already noted St. Francis de Sales, but we should add here such names as Pierre de Bérulle (d. 1629), Charles de Condren (d. 1641), Blaise Pascal (d. 1662), Jacques Bossuet (d. 1704), and François de Fénelon (d. 1715). [58]

[54] G. Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (Milano, 1929), Vol. VI of *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, and A. Belloni, *Il Seicento* (Milano, 1924), Vol. VII of the same series, contain much information on these points.

[55] A. Valbuena Prat's *Historia de la Literatura Española*, T. I. (Barcelona, 1937), 479-589.

[56] A. J. Barnouw, *Vondel* (New York, 1925); G. Kalff, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, IV (Groningen, 1909), 246-336.

[57] Concerning Crashaw, cf. H. C. White's *The Metaphysical Poets, A Study in Religious Experience* (New York, 1936), pp. 202-258. Worthy of special recommendation, not only for Crashaw but also for the Baroque age in general, is A. Warren's *Richard Crashaw. A Study in Baroque Sensibility* (University, Louisiana, 1939). The author of this book succeeds in avoiding much of the stepfatherly conceptions concerning the Baroque Age still widely current.

This new spirit of devotion, the subject of much misunderstanding comment, has been all too much neglected. Issuing in the Baroque Age, it has received less appreciative study than the cultural phenomena of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, centuries whose thought, art, and letters were given an interpretation fitting the prepossessions of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the Positivists of the nineteenth. But sound historical study no longer is satisfied with these intellectual prejudices. It is wearisome to read the same old conventional and jejune estimates of the work of the great men and women of the Baroque Age, especially at its beginning.[59]

This spirit of devotion also found expression in painting, sculpture, and engraving. The plastic perfection of the High Renaissance had indeed culminated in the mannerism of the imitators of Michelangelo; but the newer schools nevertheless were able to give serious meaning to their splendid creations. The three Carracci (Augustine, d. 1602; Annibale, d. 1609; and Lodovico, d. 1619) who created the eclectic school of Bologna laid the foundations of their great influence, which was to be felt for several decades. Guido Reni (d. 1642), one of their pupils, painted a large number of splendid pictures combining the radiant anatomy of youth with grief, distress, and ecstasy. The weeping Magdalen, the repenting Peter, the mistreated Savior were favorite topics in his *bottega*. Lorenzo Bernini (d. 1680) translated this same spirit into sculpture and architecture.

But the great influence of the Italian masters of the early Baroque should not blind us to the greater excellences of Spanish masters like El Greco (d. 1615), Gregorio Fernández (d. 1636), José de Ribera (d. 1658), Francesco Zurbarán (d. 1664), Murillo (d. 1682), Diego Velásquez (d. 1660)—at least in his religious pictures—and

[58] J. Calvet's, *La Littérature religieuse de François de Sales à Fénelon* (Paris, 1935), forming Tome II of the *Histoire de la littérature française publiée sous la direction de J. Calvet,* should be read by all who wish to appraise the literature of the Baroque Age more justly than is customary.

[59] For this theme, in addition to the works cited above, cf. the still useful but by no means satisfactory *De l'Influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples catholiques* (Paris, 1884), by Ch. Dejob.

Luis de Morales (d. 1716). Artistic cultivation requires the quiet of established political peace, a condition well realized by Philip II.[60] The piety of the time also found expression in the Southern Netherlands, but conditions in those provinces—owing to the Eighty Years' War—hardly made possible a flourishing art comparable to that of Spain, in spite of the great activity of Peter Paul Rubens (d. 1640).[61]

In these paragraphs we have endeavored to make clear just one important aspect of the Catholic Reform of the sixteenth century—the immensely significant influence of the many men and women in cloister or as lay-folk, in aristocratic circles as well as humble, among the clergy as also the laity, who lived devout lives, tried by spiritual exercise to attain to their highest spiritual development, and wrote spiritual manuals for the rejuvenation of the faith and the reform of the Church. Much more might be said upon this subject, but our aim will be realized if we here succeed in calling attention to the importance of an all too much neglected branch of Renaissance literature.

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[60] For the plastic arts of Spain at the time of Philip II, cf. the excellent account in G. J. Geers, *De Renaissance in Spanje*, Ch. VIII and IX, which, however, does not fully penetrate to the profound religious spirituality of Spain.

[61] For the extensive subject of the religious art of this period, cf. the illuminating book of E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente. Étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVI^e, du XVII^e, du XVIII^e siècle. Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres* (Paris, 1932).

MISCELLANY

I

Letters from Some Friends of Edward Kavanagh

The originals of the documents printed in this article, a bill of expenses and six letters, will be found in the Edward Kavanagh Collection in the archives of the diocese of Portland, Maine.[1] The letters, written during the years 1821-1827, are not closely connected. But they are to or from Bishop John Cheverus, Father William Taylor, the bishop's assistant, and Edward Kavanagh of Damariscotta, Maine, and it is this small circle of friends that supplies the thread of unity. The correspondence adds a little more information about the good bishop of New England during his last few years in Boston and his first few years in France, after his unwilling departure from the city and people he had grown to love.

The bill of expenses is the semi-annual statement of the authorities of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, for the education and incidental expenditures of Edward Kavanagh. The statement, it will be noticed, was sent to Father Anthony Matignon of Boston, but that did not mean that the priest was paying for Edward's college education. James Kavanagh had entrusted the immediate charge of his son's education to his two friends, Father Matignon and Bishop Cheverus. From the beginning these two planned Edward's schooling: three years at a Boston public school, four years at the Collège de Montréal, and then to Georgetown. When the college on the Potomac failed to satisfy Edward, he transferred, with their approval, to St. Mary's. One item on the bill may explain why young Kavanagh was so anxious for the transfer. At St. Mary's he was allowed within less than four weeks $7.75 for spending money; at Georgetown the customary weekly allowance was 12½ cents.

The first two letters, one from Father John M. Tessier, superior of St. Mary's Seminary, to Bishop Cheverus and the other from the bishop to Edward Kavanagh, are about the M.A. degree conferred by the college on Edward in 1821. At this date he was ready to begin his public career. The War of 1812 had ruined his father's mercantile business, and had forced Edward to withdraw from college and eventually to abandon all thought

[1] The Most Reverend Joseph E. McCarthy, Bishop of Portland, has kindly permitted the use of these documents.

of studying for the priesthood.[2] After a business trip to the British Isles and the continent, he studied law and watched for an opportunity to enter public life, preferably in the diplomatic field.

Kavanagh decided that a master's degree would enhance his chances for success and arranged that Bishop Cheverus would present the request to the authorities of St. Mary's. Father Tessier's answer, expressing the college's pleasure in honoring its alumnus, and the bishop's note to Edward announcing the good news, are printed in this article. The college authorities, however, had discovered that Edward was deficient in some of the studies required for the degree. Hence, he must forward an official record "qui prouve qu'il a achevé les etudes [sic] qu'il lui restait à faire ici." The intent of this demand is not quite clear. American colleges at this time granted the M.A. to a college graduate on request three years or more after graduation.[3] Perhaps Kavanagh had not finished all his undergraduate studies before he left St. Mary's in 1813, even though he had entered the seminary, and the college authorities wanted proof that the unfinished work had been completed.

The other four letters are from Father William Taylor. Not much is known of this priest, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a convert to the Catholic faith, who came to Boston in the spring of 1821 with a reputation as a brilliant preacher—"un Prêtre aimable, pieux, et qui est trés admiré comme Prédicateur."[4] He soon became acquainted with the bishop's young friend, Edward Kavanagh, and was entrusted with the task of seeing that the M.A. degree, conferred *in absentia*, reached its destination. The first letter, then, accompanied the M.A. to Damariscotta. The two were soon close friends. In the next letter, Taylor informed Kavanagh "of the immediate departure of the dear and good Bishop Cheverus for France." In the third letter, Taylor, now administrator of the Boston diocese during the vacancy of the see, sent Kavanagh the latest news from their friend in France. Three years had passed by the time the fourth letter was written. Taylor had accepted the invitation of Cheverus, now the archbishop of Bordeaux and "the most popular prelate" in the nation, to join him in France. The reunion of the two friends is described, and how they planned to live "as in Boston."

College of the Holy Cross WILLIAM L. LUCEY

[2] Kavanagh received the tonsure, the first step towards the priesthood, at St. Mary's on April 14, 1813. Joseph W. Ruane, *The Beginning of the Society of Saint Sulpice in the United States, 1791-1829* (Washington, 1935), p. 190.

[3] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 334; Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past from the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston, 1883), p. 343.

[4] Cheverus to Marquis Jean Bonneuil, Boston, December 19, 1821, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XIV (December, 1903), 513.

Doit Rev^d. M^r. Mantignon au College S^te. Balt^e.
pour la pension & l'Enseignement d'Ed^d. Kavanagh—

1812			
Novembre 5	Blanchissage de Six mois	9.	
"	Raccommodage de Linge, bas, &c	3.	
"	Abonnement au médecin & remedes	4.	
"	Papier, plumes, ardoises, &c	3.	
"	Six mois de pension & Enseignem^t en avance	115.	
			134
	Livres Classiques		
"	Manuel de Mathematique 2^d vol	2.	
Septembre 24	Graeca Majora vol 1^st	3.	
			5.
	Dépenses étrangères à la pension		
Juin 23	8 yds chambray à 40c pour 2 pantalons	3.20	
"	façons & fournitures	4.	
Juillet 13	1 chapeau	6.	
"	1 paire de Souliers	1.75	
Septembre 29	1¼ yrd Drap à 6$ pour un pantalon	7.50	
"	façon & fournitures	2.	
"	Raccommodage d'habits	3.	
			27.45
	Argent Avancé		
Juillet 14	A lui avancé	5.25	
Septembre 9	D^o.	2.50	
			7.75
R			$174.20

E. E.
W^m. Castel
agt of St Mary's Coll.

[FATHER J. M. TESSIER TO BISHOP JOHN CHEVERUS] [5]

a Baltimore ce 16 fevrier 1821

Monseigneur,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 7 du courant, contenant la demande de notre ancien elève, Edward Kavanagh. Nos Messieurs à qui je l'ai communiquée, consentiront bien volontiers a donner un Diplôme, a M. Kavanagh, a la prochaine fois, qu'on fera cette Ceremonie; laquelle se fait au mois de juillet, la veille de la distribution des prix. mais pour cela il sera necessaire, qu'il nous envoye une attestation par écrit, qui prouve qu'il a achevé les etudies qu'il lui restait à

faire ici, quand il laissa la maison. s'il n'a pas tiré d'attestations des maitres sous lesquels il a etudié en irlande, votre attestation la dessus serait suffisante. je suis bien aise de pouvoir rendre ce petit service à ce jeune homme, que je n'ai point cesser d'estimer et d'aimer; sachant qu'il n'a point cessé d'etre bon, et fidèle à ses devoirs. je vous prie de lui faire savoir cette decision de notre Faculté; je ne lui ecris pas moi-meme, pour ne pas multiplier les lettres.

Notre Séminaire ici est bien peu nombreux, avec bien peu d'espérance de le voir s'augmenter. mais le College est plus nombreux que jamais. Notre jeune Président du College, M. Damphoux s'y applique de tout son coeur, et y réussit bien. je vous prie de me croire toujours, avec un bien respectueux attachment

Monseigneur,

Votre tres humble et obeiss. serviteur
J. Tessier

p. s. je vous prie de mentionner à M. Kavanagh,
que les billets de lotterie que nous avions pris
pour lui a celle de la Cathedrale, se sont trouvés *blancs*.

[5] Father Tessier, as one will notice, omitted a few accents. He also took it for granted that the reader knew how a French word was accented, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish his words.

[CHEVERUS TO KAVANAGH] [6]

Boston February 22d 1821

Dear Sir

I have just received, & I hasten to send you, Dr. Tessier's letter. If you have not got the certificates, you will have only to write to me an account of your studies, since you left St. Mary's, & I will certify it.

With my affectionate compliments to your dear Father aunt, sisters & all the family I remain with sincere & affectionate esteem

Dear Sir

Your obedient humble Servt

✠ John Bp. of Bn.

[6] Bishop Cheverus wrote this note on the unused page of Father Tessier's letter.

[TAYLOR TO KAVANAGH] [7]

Boston 21st September
1822

Dear Sir,

When Mrs. Cottrel and her daughter departed from Boston I forwarded, by that opportunity your diploma of A.M. which the Revd. Mr. Wheeler entrusted, to my care, with his most affectionate regards for you: I hope, as

this document may be of importance and necessity, that you have received it, and, tho' it decorates you with academical laurels, it can not add any thing to your already well cultivated intellect.

I am much obliged to you for your handsome and affectionate letter by the Bishop; I would have answered you sooner but have been incessantly occupied in the drudgery of my profession. Dr. Cheverus has returned from Canada in good health and spirits. As I am departing for the Falls of Niagara, tomorrow morning, and, of course, must discharge my epistolary arrears I merely write to tell you that I recollect you and to assure you that you will always be deemed

a valuable Acquaintance
and Sincere Friend
by
Wm. Taylor

P.S. Present my affect. and respectful regards to your good Father, Mrs Smithwick and to the young Ladies your Sisters.

[7] Unless Father Taylor has made a mistake in the year, over a year passed before the M.A. was received. Taylor refers to Mrs. Matthew Cottrill, friend of the Kavanaghs.

[TAYLOR TO KAVANAGH]

Boston 4th September 1823.

My Dear Sir

I regret much to convey to you the afflicting intelligence of the immediate departure of the dear and good Bishop Cheverus for France.

The Remonstrance of the Citizens of Boston; his own earnest supplications would not be listened to; the Bishops of the Gallican Church know his value and are determined to possess him. I need not dwell, with you, on the severe wound and irreparable injury inflicted, by his departure, on our establishment here. He is obliged to go "*virtute obedientiae*". We must meet the shock with christian resignation and pray "the Lord of the Harvest" that he may give us a substitute who may possess his prudence and his virtues. He wishes to see Revd. Mr. Ryan and invites him to come here with convenient speed. I hope you will come and condole with us next winter or the latter part of "the Fall".

Give my best respects & affectionate regards to your dear Father, your Sisters, Mrs. Smithwick &

believe me

Your sincere Friend
Wm. Taylor

Edw Kavanagh Esq

[TAYLOR TO KAVANAGH]

Boston 14th Jan. 1824.

Dear Friend,

I request you will make my apology to your Friends Mr. and Mrs. Smith; I intended to have waited on them on Saturday but unexpected professional engagements rendered it impossible.

I was much pleased with Mr. Smith —with the urbanity of his manners and solid judgment; I will feel happy if he recollect me; and be disposed to call on me, whenever he revisit Boston, and consider me a Friend.

I expect hourly a letter from the dear Bishop; he tells me in his last, dated Cherbourg Novem. 4th, that he will write to you and to your worthy and zealous Rector [Father Denis Ryan] immediately after his arrival in Paris—Present my loving regards to your venerable and good Father to your dear Sisters and to Mrs. Smithwick and assure them all that they possess my wishes and prayers for witnessing, with constantly augmented happiness, many returns of the new Year.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours Sincerely
Wm. Taylor

Come and see us. *We have Edward Kavanagh's Room.*

[FATHER P. BYRNE TO KAVANAGH]

Boston, March 15th 1827.

My Dear Sir,

I have to apologize for not having sooner thanked you for your kind letter of Jany. 8th ...

I have received a long letter from Mr. Taylor who writes: "I arrived in Bordeaux just in time to compliment our mutual Father & friend on the commencement of the new year.—I arrived, with the Courier, on Sunday the 31st Decr. & being fatigued I took a room at the Hotel intending to enjoy a little repose and recruit from my lassitude before I presented myself to my best friend. A carriage drove up; it was the Archbishop's and sent to conduct me to him. I need not describe to you my feelings, the Bishop was much affected and could not suppress tears.—He only took possession of his Archbishoprick on the 15th Decr. & you may naturally suppose that he is totally occupied in replying to addresses & attending to civic entertainments. He is decidedly the most popular prelate in the Gallican Church, and perhaps the only one respected equally by the liberal & Royalist parties. He possesses an astonishing facility of communicating his ideas, and in doing so, he, without any laboured effort, selects the most precise chaste and beautiful epithets in his native language. He eminently displays, what characterized Bossuet & Fenelon, Bourdaloue Flechier & Mascaron, & what the French call *onction* and which is but faintly understood by the english term so analogous to it.—His general health is good and he looks remarkably well.—Already he is here revered and admired. He often speaks of the good people of New England and of their many virtues.

I have my room in the palace, and an honorary stall in the Cathedral with the privilege of dressing (what I never ambitioned [!])[8] in purple. I have access to a good library, and the dear Bishop would instantly give me a permanent and lucrative situation did he not apprehend exciting the jealousy of some panting expectants—mais cela viendra—Whatever situation I may occur I am to reside with him in his Palace, and to use his own expression, 'we will live as in Boston'.—Remember me to Edward Kavanagh and family, Mr. & Mrs. Mooney."

Mr. Taylor's letter is dated Jany. 10th.

I have not heard for some considerable time from Mr. Ryan. His brother was very anxious, a fortnight since, to hear from him.

Please to present my best respects and wishes to your dear Father & to the other members of your family; and to Mr. and Mrs. Mooney.

I remain, Dear Sir, with sincere esteem and attachment

Your friend & servant

P. Byrne

[8] Father Byrne evidently inserted the exclamation mark. By the time Taylor went to France, Cheverus had been transferred from Montauban to Bordeaux.

II

An Appreciation of the *Cambridge Medieval History**

A critical, detailed book review of even a single volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* would require a competence possessed by few scholars and more space than is ordinarily allowed for reviews in historical journals. My purpose here, therefore, is rather to give the reader an introduction to the scope and character of the work and to discuss in general terms, but critically, its significance as a contribution to our understanding of the Middle Ages.

The *Cambridge Medieval History* is a co-operative work of scholarship on the grand scale. Its architect, the late Professor John B. Bury, followed in the main the well-known principles laid down by Lord Acton for the *Cambridge Modern History*. Planned in the first decade of this century, Volume I appeared in 1911 and Volume II in 1913. World War I, however, made immediate continuance of such a co-operative project of world scholarship impossible. In the early twenties, the editors were able to begin publishing again, and the eighth and final volume appeared in 1936, just twenty-five years after the first edition of Volume I.

The following data will give the reader a concrete idea of the magnitude of the work. Nearly one hundred and fifty scholars from various parts of Europe and America, all recognized authorities in their respective fields,

* *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Planned by J. B. Bury. Volume I, *The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms*. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge, England: At the University Press). Pp. 754. First edition, 1911; second edition, 1924. Volume II, *The Rise of the Saracens and the Foundation of the Western Empire*. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. Pp. 889. First edition, 1913; reprinted with corrections, 1926. Volume III, *Germany and the Western Empire*. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin, J. P. Whitney, J. R. Tanner, and C. W. Previté-Orton. Pp. 700. First edition, 1922; reprinted, 1924. Volume IV, *The Eastern Roman Empire* (717-1453). Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke. Pp. 993. First edition, 1923; reprinted with corrections, 1927. Volume V, *Contest of Empire and Papacy*. Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke. Pp. 1005. First edition, 1926; reprinted with corrections, 1929. Volume VI, *Victory of the Papacy*. Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke. Pp. 1047. First edition, 1929. Volume VII, *Decline of Empire and Papacy*. Edited by the late J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke. Pp. 1073. First edition, 1932. Volume VIII, *The Close of the Middle Ages*. Edited by C. W. Previté-Orton and Z. N. Brooke. Pp. 1079. First edition, 1936.

were invited to contribute one or more chapters. The eight volumes contain nearly 6000 pages of historical text proper, nearly 1000 pages of bibliography, over 500 pages of indices, eighty-six maps, and forty-five pages of chronological tables. The other co-operative histories covering the Middle Ages, Halphen and Saignac, *Peuples et Civilisations*, Berr, *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*, and Glotz, *Histoire générale*, are all on a much smaller scale. The elaborate bibliographies of the present work alone make it unique and indispensable to scholars.

The *Cambridge Medieval History* has taken its place as the leading general work of reference in the field of mediaeval history, and, as a result of the heavy blows inflicted on mediaeval scholarship by the present world conflict, it is destined to maintain its authoritative position for many years. Like its companions, the *Cambridge Modern History* and the *Cambridge Ancient History*, however, in spite of its great size and elaborate apparatus, it is not a real synthesis. Of the three Cambridge histories, the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and this only in part, possesses anything like the organic unity and proportion in presentation required to show *wie es eigentlich geschehen ist*. The work under review is essentially a great collection of historical essays, and formally written as such by direction in keeping with the principles laid down by Lord Acton and his successors. Each essay is contributed by the leading specialist in the field covered. Footnotes are for the most part excluded, and there are no formal references or any other tangible bonds of connection between a given essay and the elaborate bibliography furnished on its theme at the end of the volume in which it appears. A general chronological framework was adopted for the eight volumes and for the material contained in each volume, and an attempt was obviously made to group chapters in such a way that a scholar at least could work out a synthesis for himself without excessive difficulty. But too often, indifference to organic unity, poor planning, or a policy of expediency probably forced upon changing boards of editors at times by the nature of such a large scale co-operative project has been responsible for an unsatisfactory arrangement of materials, even on the chronological side, and for a few striking omissions. Under the circumstances, one does not necessarily find material on a given subject where he might reasonably expect to find it, but must hunt through the chapter headings of three or four volumes—or even all eight. It will be useful to give a few specific examples of such bad arrangement, etc.

In Volume V, Chapter V deals with the Italian cities to about 1200, but has almost nothing on Venice. The explanation—not furnished in the chapter itself so far as the writer recalls—is that the history of Venice before 1200 is buried in Volume IV, which is devoted almost exclusively to the Eastern Empire. Volume V is concerned roughly with the period from 1050 to 1200. However, Chapters VIII and IX treat of the Kingdom of

Jerusalem to 1291 and of the effects of the Crusades on Western Europe, although the subsequent chapters dealing with Germany, Italy, France, and England do not carry their story through the Third Crusade. In Volume VI one looks for a chapter on mediaeval philosophy near that on the mediaeval universities only to find that mediaeval philosophy, including the philosophers of the thirteenth century, has already been treated in Volume V. Mediaeval education to 1300 is not found in Volume VI, but again is placed in the preceding volume. Volume IV, as mentioned above, is devoted primarily to the Eastern Empire, and there is some advantage in having Byzantine history from 717 to 1453 presented in the same volume. However, this advantage is more than offset by two serious disadvantages. In the first place, the arrangement helps to perpetuate the old view that Byzantium was almost completely isolated from the West even in the later Middle Ages, and thus de-emphasizes the results of modern scholarship in rehabilitating the true role of the Byzantine Empire and its influence politically and culturally upon Western Europe. In the second place, the history of the Crusades is largely split up between Volume IV and Volumes V and VI in such a way that one has to turn from the treatment of the Crusades—with the exception of the Fourth—in the chapters devoted to the West in Volumes V and VI to Volume IV in order to trace their fortunes in the East. The chapter on the general results of the Crusades does not make up for this lack of unified presentation. The most striking omission in the work as a whole is, in my opinion, the lack of a chapter or part of a chapter on Dante. At the beginning of Volume VII there is a chapter on Italy in the age of Dante, but neither here nor elsewhere is there any formal, detailed treatment of the *Divine Comedy* and its significance in the history of mediaeval and modern culture.

The defects in arrangement and the lack of unity indicated above are remedied to some degree by the excellent Introductions furnished to Volumes III, IV, V, VI, and VII, and by the admirable Epilogue following the main text in Volume VIII. But these are not enough to change the general character of the work. The reader who is not thoroughly initiated in mediaeval history will probably get a clearer understanding of the Middle Ages as a whole if he masters the unified and well-balanced presentation in Halphen-Saignac, *Peuples et Civilisations*—better from this point of view than Glotz's *Histoire générale*.

But in pointing out that the *Cambridge Medieval History* is not a real synthesis and in calling attention to certain defects in arrangement, I should not wish to give the impression that the work is not a contribution of the first order. On the contrary, as I stated above, it is without question the leading general work in its field. After all, the defects in arrangement mentioned, while confusing to the general reader, will at most cause inconvenience to the scholar. The essential thing to emphasize is that in these eight volumes one can find an authoritative treatment of almost any phase

of mediaeval history accompanied by an invaluable and accurately presented bibliography. Volumes I-IV, it is true, are somewhat antiquated, since they appeared in print or were in large part set up in type before 1920, but they still constitute the best general account of the period covered which we have in English. It is to be hoped that a new and revised edition of these four volumes can be published after the war. Volumes V-VIII, however, are abreast of the latest scholarship in all respects.

Throughout the *Cambridge Medieval History* there is a great deal of overlapping. The same historical event may be handled two or three times by different writers, sometimes even in adjacent chapters. I am inclined, nevertheless, to agree with the editors that such overlapping is not to be considered a fault. On the contrary, since many of the events treated may be regarded or interpreted from different points of view, it is a real advantage for the scholar or critical reader to have them so presented.

Many chapters in the work are comprehensive surveys of the subjects treated for the whole Middle Ages or for a considerable portion of that long period. Such critical surveys may be regarded as syntheses of the fields covered and are of the greatest interest and value to scholars. It will be worthwhile here to list some of these survey chapters by way of concrete illustration. I shall confine my selections to Volumes V-VIII. In Volume V: Chapter XX, "The Monastic Orders" (from St. Benedict to the end of the fifteenth century); Chapter XXI, "Roman and Canon Law in the Middle Ages"; Chapter XXII, "Medieval Schools to c. 1300." In Volume VI: Chapter XIV, "Commerce and Industry in the Middle Ages" (to the middle of the fourteenth century); Chapter XVIII, "Political Theory to c. 1300"; Chapter XIX, "Medieval Doctrine to the Lateran Council of 1215" (not satisfactory in part, although carefully prepared); Chapter XXIII, "The Art of War to 1400." In Volume VII: Chapter XXII, "The Jews in the Middle Ages"; Chapter XXIII, "Medieval Estates"; Chapter XXIV, "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions (c. 1100 to c. 1500);" Chapter XVI, "Medieval Mysticism." In Volume VIII: Chapter XXII, "Magic Witchcraft, Astrology, and Alchemy"; Chapter XXIII, "Education in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries"; and Chapter XXIV, "Painting, Sculpture, and the Arts."

The *Cambridge Medieval History* sums up, on the whole, critically and objectively what we know to date about the cultural and political history of the Middle Ages. In spite of its great size it does not pretend to be definitive in the sense that its editors would claim that the final word has been said upon many or even upon the most important and most studied events or institutions of the Middle Ages. On the contrary, the numerous specialists who have made the work possible call attention again and again to problems that cannot be solved for lack of evidence, but especially to those problems which cannot be solved until further detailed investigations

have been made on the basis of evidence which actually exists. Obviously, in mediaeval Christendom there was a unity and sameness of political and cultural institutions, but at the same time there was far more local diversity than has hitherto been sufficiently realized. The *Cambridge Medieval History* has performed an excellent service in stressing repeatedly this local diversity in the midst of a general unity of culture, and it should help to stimulate further study of mediaeval civilization in its local or regional manifestations.

The last three volumes are strongly recommended for careful reading at the present time. The crisis of Western civilization in which we now find ourselves has its beginnings definitely in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It cannot be understood or adequate remedies sought for it unless we have the clearest understanding of its causes and early development. In the Introduction to Volume V, published in 1929, Professor Previté-Orton stresses the fact that in the thirteenth century mediaeval civilization reached the highest pitch of development in its characeristic forms. There was a deep feeling of unity which was based upon a common faith and upon a common inheritance of legal and moral ideas. In commenting upon this unity of European civilization in the thirteenth century he then makes the following statement which sounds very strange in view of what has happened since it was written: "In a later age Europe could dispense with these formal bonds, not because its real unity had grown weaker but because it had become indestructibly strong."

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

Catholic University of America

Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, January 16, 1943

III

As announced in the January issue of the Review, it was not found possible to hold the regular three-day Christmas meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association on account of the transportation problem. The Executive Council of the Association was polled on the advisability of having a combined luncheon conference and business meeting in Washington on January 16, 1943, and they voted in a majority to hold such a meeting. Fifty-one members and some of their friends assembled in the Jefferson Room of the Mayflower Hotel on January 16 at 12:30 for the meeting. President McGuire was in the chair and presided until the election of the officers for 1943, when he yielded to Richard F. Pattee, President of the Association for the new year. Guests of honor at the luncheon were Right Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Acting Rector of the Catholic University of America, and Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association. The business transacted at the meeting can best be followed by our members through reading the reports of the officers and committee chairmen which follow.

Report of the Treasurer:

Financial Statement from December 15, 1941 to December 31, 1942

Account I. General Fund

Investments—December 15, 1941		$5,500.00
Cash on Hand—December 15, 1941	$2,226.69	
Receipts:		
Annual Dues	$2,595.75	
Interest from Investments	165.00	
Contributions to Chicago Meeting Expense	159.00	
Donation from Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman (For editing Church Archives Records of Historical Records Survey)	625.00	
	$5,771.44	$5,500.00

Disbursement:		
Office Expenses:		
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 93.30*	
Supplies and service	242.68	
Secretary—Salary—Miss K. Harrold	750.01**	
Bookkeeper—Salary—Miss Marie Jones	120.00	
	1,205.99	

Chicago Meeting Expenses	210.34		
Meeting expenses for 1942	2.00		
Catholic Historical Review	2,575.20		
American Association for State and Local History	4.00		
Rent of Safety Deposit Box	6.00		
For editing Church Archives Records of Historical Records Survey	325.00		
Refund to Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman	300.00		
Bad checks and exchange rates on checks	11.22		
		4,639.75	
CASH ON HAND—December 31, 1942		$1,131.69	
INVESTMENTS—December 31, 1942			$5,500.00

* Includes rent through March, 1943.
** Includes salary of office secretary for November and December, 1941.

ACCOUNT II. REVOLVING ACCOUNT

PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS

CASH ON HAND—December 15, 1941		$411.66
RECEIPTS:		
Sale of Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$ 14.00	14.00
		$425.66
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Copying and collating of documents for future publication (United States Consuls to the Papal States)		298.00
CASH ON HAND—December 31, 1942		$127.66

SUMMARY

INVESTMENTS:		
ACCOUNT I		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND:		
ACCOUNT I	$1,131.69	
ACCOUNT II	127.66	
TOTAL CASH BALANCE	$1,259.35	
GRAND TOTAL		$6,759.35

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS:

A report concerning the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW will be made by the Managing Editor. The series of the Association's *Papers* will not be extended for some time. Such collections are desirable only when all the papers read at the annual meetings concern one general theme. Such a program has not been considered during recent years.

Your committee, therefore, has only to report on the progress made during the past year on the second volume of *Documents*, which will contain the Instructions and Despatches of the United States Consuls to the Papal States. It is gratifying to be able to inform the membership that all the material for this projected volume has been copied and collated. Your chairman, who is to edit these documents without compensation, will be able to devote considerable time this year toward preparing the volume for publication. Then, it is hoped, some means will be found to finance the cost of printing. If voluntary contributions for this purpose or a subsidy from some source, are not forthcoming your committee hopes the Association will agree to finance the publication from its surplus funds. The Association was founded for just such purposes. With the first volume of this series so well received and so generally acknowledged to be a real contribution to American Catholic history, it would be a matter of deep regret if the story of the diplomatic relationship between our government and the Holy See should not be completed.

For favors shown by The National Archives to those who copied and collated this material for the Association your committee wishes to thank Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, Dr. P. M. Hamer, Chief of the Division of References, and the several members of the staff who aided in this work.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO F. STOCK, *Chairman*
MICHAEL J. READY
JAMES B. WALKER, O.P.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

OFFICERS

President—Richard F. Pattee, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State.

First Vice-President—Paul Kiniery, Loyola University, Chicago.

Second Vice-President—Joseph H. Brady, Seton Hall College, South Orange, New Jersey.

Secretary—John Tracy Ellis, Catholic University of America.

Treasurer—John K. Cartwright, Church of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Harold F. Hartman, Villanova College.
Sister Marie Léonore Fell, S.C., College of Mt. St. Vincent.

Committee on Publications:

Leo F. Stock, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Chairman.
Michael J. Ready, National Catholic Welfare Conference.
James B. Walker, O.P., Dominican House of Studies, River Forest, Illinois.

Committee on Program:

John J. O'Connor, St. John's University, Brooklyn, Chairman.
Charles H. Metzger, S.J., West Baden College, Indiana.
Mary Lucille Shay, University of Illinois.

Committee on Nominations:

John J. Meng, Queens College, Chairman.
Michael B. McCloskey, O.F.M., Siena College, Loudonville, New York.
Thomas P. Neill, Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Respectfully submitted,

HERBERT H. COULSON, *Chairman*
EDWARD V. CARDINAL, C.S.V.
EDWARD J. MCCARTHY, O.S.A.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

This is the first time that the report of the Secretary of the Association has been made outside the regular three-day annual meeting held during Christmas week. When the transportation problem threatened to become acute over the period of the Christmas holidays, the Executive Office of the Association sent a questionnaire to the members of the Executive Council asking their opinion on what action should be taken concerning possible cancellation of our 1942 gathering. Seven of the eleven members voted to cancel the meeting scheduled for the Neil House in Columbus, Ohio, for December 29-31. Thus with a majority of nearly two to one the long-debated question was settled. I might add that nine of the eleven members of the Council voted to hold the special meeting at which we are gathered today for the transaction of the necessary business of the Association and to hear the address of our President and the reports of the officers. The disappointment experienced in having to break our twenty-two years of consecutive annual meetings was somewhat allayed when it was learned that the American Historical Association and other historical societies had taken similar action.

The task of maintaining the personnel, spirit, and co-operation of a learned society is not an easy one at any time. It is rendered doubly dif-

ficult in war time when the ordinary course of life is seriously disrupted and the attention of all alert citizens is diverted to the world-shaking events through which we are presently living. However, one takes courage from the fact that an association such as this has survived other periods of national strain, notably the Great Depression of the 1930's. It succeeded in holding the interest of its members at that time and even embarked upon a large undertaking for a small society, for it was in 1933, one of America's blackest years, that the Association was able to publish the first volume of its *Documents*, a very costly project indeed for our limited finances. We may gain courage too from a review of our humble beginnings. When Monsignor Guilday made his address at the inaugural session of this Association in Cleveland on December 30, 1919, he spoke to a bare fifty people who had answered the call for the formation of a Catholic historical society. Spirited by his untiring efforts through twenty-two years the numbers grew and today there stands behind this little group of fifty members assembled at this luncheon conference, a total membership of nearly 640. Not only have our members remained interested in our Association, but they have likewise associated themselves more and more in the work of the American Historical Association and the state and regional historical societies. In the April, 1915, issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW the Notes and Comment section reported the dearth of Catholic historians represented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held the previous Christmas week in Chicago. To quote: "Out of the four hundred members of the Association present at the meetings, morning, afternoon and evening, two Catholic priests and several Dominican nuns alone were in attendance" (p. 103). The lament of the editor of the REVIEW in 1915 would find no place today. The attendance of Catholic scholars and teachers of history at the annual meetings of the historical societies of late years is counted in the hundreds. This is a healthy and encouraging sign of the spread of professional interest among the Catholic members of the historical guild in our country.

I trust it may not be amiss if I should recount briefly for you the plans which had been made by your Committee on Program for the meeting scheduled for Columbus. Professor Baldwin of New York University, Chairman of the Committee, Father Charles E. Schrader, S.J., of the University of Detroit, and Professor Edward A. Doehler, of Loyola College, Baltimore, had worked hard and long to frame an attractive program for our members. For the first day we were to hear two papers on the subject of Trusteeism in the American Church by Father Alfred G. Stritch of St. Gregory Seminary, Cincinnati, and Father Robert F. McNamara of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester. These men had prepared papers on this subject as it related to the western and eastern States, respectively. A panel discussion had been arranged in which Father Robert Gorman of St.

Mary-of-the-Woods College and Father Michael J. Curley, C.SS.R., of Mt. St. Alphonsus Seminary were to be the leaders with Thomas F. O'Connor, historian of the diocese of Syracuse, as chairman. The afternoon had been left free, and our members were to be assembled again at noon on the second day for a luncheon conference. The sole speaker was to be Professor Herbert C. F. Bell of Wesleyan University, who had prepared a paper on "Britain's Protestant Crusade against the Convents." The regular business meeting and presidential address were scheduled for the afternoon of the second day. On the morning of the third day we were to have our usual joint session with the American Historical Association on the general theme of "Religious Survivals in Time of Crisis," which appears in this issue of the REVIEW. Professor Baldwin carried on the correspondence which this session entailed with Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, Chicago, and between them they had arranged a session which makes us all regret that it could not be heard. Our Association was to be represented by Professor Henry S. Lucas of the University of Washington with a paper on "The Survival of the Catholic Faith during the Sixteenth Century." Professor Albert Hyma of the University of Michigan was scheduled to read a paper on "The Survival and Resurgence of Orthodox Calvinism in the Netherlands (1750-1850)," and a third speaker was to be Professor Nicholas S. Timasheff of Fordham University with a paper on "The Survival of Religion in Soviet Russia." Our final session was arranged in compliment to Monsignor Guilday, our honorary President, in the form of a luncheon, at which Dr. Leo F. Stock, a former President and an old friend of Monsignor Guilday, was to be chairman. Sentiments of esteem were to be expressed in the name of the American Historical Association by its Executive Secretary, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, our honored guest today, and Father Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., of Fordham University was to voice our own token of appreciation. We hope that all or part of these papers may yet be heard at a future meeting of the Association or perhaps be published in the REVIEW, and that on the occasion of our silver jubilee a year from next December we may have the postponed pleasure of a luncheon in honor of Monsignor Guilday.

There are few ways in which an Association such as this can be of greater service to its members and to the field of history generally than by promoting publication. May I call to your attention the item which you heard read in the Treasurer's report of Father Cartwright, namely, that a little under $300 has been spent during the past year from the Association's funds to make ready for publication the valuable papers now being edited by Dr. Stock on the United States Consuls to the Papal States. Dr. Stock's own report as Chairman of the Committee on Publications has acquainted you in greater detail with what your committee is doing in that particular. In an article appearing in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW twenty-six years ago this month, Waldo G. Leland, then Secretary of the

American Historical Association, outlined the functions which he thought a Catholic historical society might perform, and after discussing a number of tasks to which such a society might set its hand he said: "Most important of all, however, especially from the point of view of the serious student, is the publication of documents." [*Catholic Historical Review*, II (Jan. 1917), 398.] You will agree then, I believe, that the Association has spent its money well if it can, during the coming year or two, sponsor the publication of this second volume of our *Documents*. Now after the passage of ten years the sale of the first volume is still alive and our office receives a request on an average of every few months for the book. In fact we are now down to but four copies left in bound form, though there are still one hundred unbound in the hands of our printer. The reception accorded Volume I encourages us to feel that we may be justified in pushing the matter of publication of Volume II during the coming year.

I should like to report to you the status of our official journal, the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. I am happy to be able to tell you that the finances of the REVIEW are in good condition. Last autumn the books of the journal were audited, and Father Magner, Secretary-Treasurer of the REVIEW, reported at the quarterly meeting of the editorial board on October 21, 1942, that our year's business closed with a cash balance of $330. Our journal goes out quarterly to 1030 institutions and persons. The number of subscribers is presently 276, the number of members receiving their copies in payment of annual dues is 637, and the number of exchanges with other historical journals and periodicals is 115. Of those 115, we are presently compelled to hold back 21 which were sent to areas in Europe which no longer receive mail from the United States on account of the war. As our own small contribution to the Good Neighbor Policy of the present Administration we have increased the number of exchanges with historical publications in South and Central America within the last year to thirteen. All told, therefore, the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW reaches over a thousand persons or institutions four times a year. I believe we are justified in feeling that this number is a substantial one and that the influence of the journal is fairly widespread.

One further point about the REVIEW might be noted. In the Secretary's report read at the business meeting in Chicago on December 30, 1942, attention of the members was called to the new policy of publishing articles regardless of whether or not they had previously been read as papers at Association meetings. We have followed that policy through the year just past, and out of a total of eighteen articles published from the issue of April, 1942, up to and including that of January, 1943, only seven were papers read at previous meetings. The appeal made for members to submit manuscripts embodying the results of their research has been answered, as you can see, and we earnestly ask that our members continue to afford

the Editors of the REVIEW an opportunity to enrich the contents of our journal with the fruits of their scholarly work.

The final major matter which should be placed before this audience is the problem of membership in the Association. Doubtless there is general agreement on the statement that a global war is not conducive to the health and growth of learned societies. It is now the serious concern of every organization such as ours to hold its membership intact during the storm through which we are presently passing. On the occasion of the last annual Secretary's report I was able to inform the business session that the year 1941 had netted the Association a total of 95 new members to bring the grand total as of December 15, 1941, to 745. However, at that time it was known that a considerable number of the 745 were a year or more delinquent in their dues to the Association. This problem was raised by the Secretary at the meeting of the Executive Council in Chicago and he received the Council's direction that delinquent members should not be carried beyond the expiration of the year for which their dues were paid. In the light of that advice, and realizing the heavy burden which delinquencies of this kind forces upon our limited budget, the Executive Office has felt compelled to withdraw the names of all members who are delinquent for more than a three month period. When it is remembered that the Treasurer of the Association must pay out 60c. each quarter for every copy of the REVIEW mailed to a delinquent member, you will readily understand that carrying 130 delinquent members could easily constitute a financial loss which the income of the Association can ill afford to bear. I give you this explanation so that you may have the facts with which to interpret what appears to be a fairly heavy loss during 1942 in our annual membership. The figures are as follows:

Total membership on December 15, 1941		745
Delinquents	130	
Resignations	18	
Deaths	22	
		170
Total		575
New members December 15, 1942-January 15, 1943		62
Total membership January 15, 1943		637

Broken down, these figures reveal the Association has 108 fewer members today than it had a year ago, but that loss is explained by the fact that the number of reported deaths last year was over twice that of 1941, the number of reported resignations was over three times that of the previous year, and the number of delinquents who were dropped was five times that of 1941. We can say, however, that the total number as reported represents a truer picture than last year in that these 637 are all active in their

membership with dues paid in the form of life memberships or annual memberships which are either paid or just now due. I need not urge upon you the necessity of all of us paying our dues promptly, for it is the sole source of revenue upon which the Association can depend to pay its operating expenses. The response of new members during the past year has been good, for to bring in sixty-two new members in a year like 1942 is to provide the necessary renewal and substitution for the inevitable losses through deaths, resignations, and delinquencies. Several of the members have been very helpful during the past year in interesting others in our work and in bringing friends and colleagues into our ranks. May I make the plea that this very real form of co-operation in the activity of the Association be adopted and continued by all our members?

The new ANNUAL MEMBERS are: Sister M. Adele, Immaculata College, Immaculata, Pennsylvania; Librarian, St. Albert's College, Middletown, New York; Reverend Edward M. Barron, 2132 E. 72nd Street, Chicago; Most Reverend Peter H. Bartholome, St. Cloud, Minnesota; St. Sgt. Frank Bartz, Seattle, Washington; Reverend Joseph P. Bradley, 1315 Eighth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.; Reverend James F. Cecka, Nazareth Hall, St. Paul, Minnesota; Reverend Florence D. Cohalen, Cathedral College, New York City; Sister Mary Concepta, Belmont Avenue and E. 182nd Street, Bronx, New York; Reverend Edwin A. Demerathe, O. Praem, Southeast Catholic High School for Boys, Philadelphia; Sister Mary De-Sales, Notre Dame Academy, Toledo, Ohio; Michael F. Dillon, Ens., U.S.N.R., 1516 N. Hobart Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; Reverend Joseph V. Donovan, 516 Salt Springs Road, Syracuse, New York; Reverend Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco, San Francisco, California; Reverend Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., University of Scranton, Scranton, Pennsylvania; Mr. William B. Faherty, S.J., St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas; Miss Catherine Fennelly, 155 Treadwell Street, Hamden, Connecticut; Reverend Joseph C. Fenton, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Sister Ann Frances, C.S.C., Dunbarton College, Washington, D. C.; Sister M. Alphonsine Frawley, S.S.J., Sisters College, Washington, D. C.; Fra. Lewis Furlan, S.A., Atonement Seminary, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., St. Meinrad's Seminary, Indiana; Mr. George F. Gillen, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York; Reverend William Heuser, 404 Judiciary Street, Aurora, Indiana; Mrs. J. C. Hickey, 21 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Brighton, Massachusetts; Reverend William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island; Holy Angels Academy, 1218 W. Kilbourn Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Most Reverend Joseph P. Hurley, 126 Marine Street, St. Augustine, Florida; Sister M. Editha Jindrick, Sacred Heart Academy, Lisle, Illinois; Sister M. Julice, S.S.N.D., Le Clerc College, Belleville, Illinois; Mother Eleanor Kenny, R.S.C.J., 1719 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.;

Reverend Paul J. Knapke, C.PP.S., St. Charles Seminary, Carthagena, Ohio; Sister M. Laurent, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul, Minnesota; Paul S. Lietz, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois; Sister M. Lucy, 2601 W. Marquette Road, Chicago, Illinois; Reverend Edward J. McCarthy, O.S.A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pennsylvania; Reverend Lawrence W. McCarthy, O.S.F.S., 1840 E. Torresdale Avenue, Philadelphia; Mr. William J. Magee, 608 Tenth Street, Brooklyn, New York; Sister Albertus Magnus, O.P., Edgewood College, Madison, Wisconsin; Reverend Charles J. Mahony, 26 Pond Street, Providence, Rhode Island; Sister Genevieve Marie, R.S.M., St. Xavier College, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. A. V. Mayrhofer, 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles, California; Reverend Theodosius Meyer, O.F.M., Box 829, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Most Reverend William F. Murphy, 614 Holland Avenue, Saginaw, Michigan; Dr. Gabriel Nadeau, Rutland State Sanatorium, Rutland, Massachusetts; Sister M. Neomisia, 1234 Monroe St., N. E., Washington, D. C.; Reverend J. Hugh Nolan, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Thomas A. O'Reilly, 822 E. Grand Avenue, Beloit, Wisconsin; Sister M. Orestes, Holy Family Convent, Manitowoc, Wisconsin; Norma A. Paul, 629 Fullerton Parkway, Chicago, Illinois; Brother H. Peter, F.S.C., Cretin High School, St. Paul, Minnesota; Reverend James F. Rigney, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, New York; Reverend Clarence J. Ryan, S.J., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Reverend J. Joseph Ryan, Jr., St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts; Reverend Elmer Sandmann, C.P., Passionist Preparatory School, Normandy, Missouri; Catherine R. Selzer, 6516 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Sister M. Stephen, O.P., Dominican College of San Rafael, San Rafael, California; Reverend Thomas A. Townsend, O.P., St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans; Mr. H. Winship Wheatley, 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Most Reverend Joseph C. Willging, 415 Quincy Street, Pueblo, Colorado; Mr. John K. Zeender, 211 Maple Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

Before leaving the subject of membership I should like to acquaint you with the names of twenty-two loyal friends lost during the past year by death:

Reverend Thomas W. Albin, Ludington, Michigan; Mrs. Victor L. Baughman, Frederick, Maryland; Reverend Francis S. Betten, S.J., Marquette University; Reverend Martin J. Brennan, Brownsville, Pennsylvania; Right Reverend Eugene J. Connelly, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Thomas R. Carey, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Right Reverend James J. Donnelly, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Very Reverend Anthony Dornseifer, Kansas City, Kansas; David E. Fitzgerald, New Haven, Connecticut; Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago; Right Reverend Joseph M. Gleason, Oakland, California; Very Reverend John J. Greaney,

Pittsburgh; Reverend Charles W. Heath, Grosse Point, Michigan; Reverend Denis D. Lane, C.M., St. Louis, Missouri; Thomas F. Meehan, Brooklyn, New York; Reverend Michael J. McCabe, Edgewood, Rhode Island; Reverend James F. McCarthy, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin; Reverend Bernard F. Redihan, Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Reverend S. Joachim Ryder, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Right Reverend Albert E. Smith, Baltimore; Reverend Stephen J. Sullivan, Townsend, Montana; Dr. James J. Walsh, New York City.

May their souls rest in peace!

I wish that the Committee on Program for 1943 might be able to give us some hint as to the possibility of our next annual meeting. Unfortunately all details of that nature will have to be postponed to await the general world conditions later this year. It was the sense of the Executive Council in session this morning that, if conditions seemed to warrant it, our Association should proceed with plans for the usual three-day meeting next Christmas week, but if that should again prove an impossibility, our organization should be assembled in a special meeting such as this for the transaction of necessary business in order to keep the Association functioning during the period of the war, so that we may be prepared once more to launch a full program when peace will again dawn upon our war-weary world.

In closing may I be permitted to express a few words of thanks. To Professor Baldwin and his Committee on Program for their conscientious and intelligent efforts in framing an attractive program which, alas, could not be heard; to Professor Coulson and his Committee on Nominations for their painstaking work in providing the Association with a new slate of officers and committee personnel for 1943; to Dr. Stock and his Committee on Publications for putting the valuable documents on the United States Consuls to the Papal States in readiness for publication; to Father Cartwright, our Treasurer, and his able bookkeeper, Miss Jones, for keeping our finances in fine order during the past year; to Professor McGuire for his unfailing kindness and readiness to give his time for the discussion of various problems confronting our Association; to Miss Kathryn D. Harrold for her efficient and careful management of the business of the Executive Office; finally to all our members for their continued interest and support of our common task, but most especially to you who have manifested your loyalty and given your time to make this luncheon conference a successful gathering and to enable us, by your presence, to continue in the only fashion permissible for us this year the traditions of twenty-three years in the life of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Pageant of the Popes. By JOHN FARROW. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 420. $3.50.)

Even a popular history of the Papacy presupposes maturity of judgment, considerable erudition, and a historical sense. These requirements are not gifts of nature. A central institution like the Papacy is not to be expounded without reference to what is on and within the circumference—a relativity complicated as in physics by constant developments in the point of relation as time marches on.

The author of the *Pageant of the Popes* is not lacking in courage. We learn from the wrapper that he is a Lieutenant Commander in H. M. Navy; that he is a motion picture director; that he completed the manuscript of this volume in a small Dutch hospital as he convalesced from typhus contracted in the South Atlantic; that this volume is the result of his condensing into a single continuous narrative all the most important material from the monumental standard histories which run to about 100 volumes and to about 5,000,000 words; that "all the popes are here and all the facts you will wish to know about them, both good and bad." One cannot but marvel at the energy of this convalescent, undismayed by the hundred or more monumental standard histories by his wheelchair, who not only read them all but made notes as he read.

But while the publishers advertise this method of bookmaking as a feat, one cannot help questioning if even a popular history can be or ought to be written in this way. The perusal of this book leaves the possibility still a question. There can be no question about the obligation to the kind of populace who would have to pay $3.50 for the privilege of reading it. The notes so derived make a volume of 407 pages. This is supplemented with a Chronological List of the Popes and with an Index of proper names. It has no Preface, Foreword, Introduction, or Table of Contents; no footnotes or citations of authority; no chapters, sections or periodic divisions. "All the Popes are here from Peter to Pius XII"—nothing between them but the indentation of a paragraph, no bond but the fact of succession. The book might have been modestly entitled "Biographical Notes on the Popes from Peter to Pius XII." It may be said that the author's paraphrase is generally happier in the modern period than in the ancient and mediaeval. Where sources are scant the dangers of distortion by paraphrase are great.

The author could not be expected to avoid these dangers, taking into consideration the circumstances of his case. It is regrettable that he was not prevailed upon to postpone publication till peacetime leisure might ripen what was a very worthy project.

PATRICK J. BARRY

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Huntington

A History of Early Christian Literature. By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 324. $2.50.)

The present volume traces the rise of early Christian literature from Paul and the Evangelists down to Constantine, Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Nicene Council. In seventeen chapters the author deals first with early Christian letters, revelations, gospels and acts, and then with the first apologies and dialogues, the rise of sects and consequent anti-heretical literature, and the beginning of a scientific exegesis. The last two chapters are devoted to Cyprian and Novatian, and later Latins like Arnobius, Lactantius, and Victorinus of Pettau. A list of the lost books of early Christian literature and a select Bibliography are added. It is unfortunate that in the latter Shahan's English translation of Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* does not appear.

There was certainly a need in the English-speaking world for a condensed history of early Christian literature in the form of the present compendium. During the last forty years, so much new light has been thrown on the subject by American, British, German, and French researches that most of the existing handbooks are not up to date and abreast of science. It is fortunate that Dr. Goodspeed, even in this volume of a more popular character, lists the newest discoveries in the field. So we find, included, to mention a few examples, the recent unearthing of a Greek fragment of Tatian's *Diatesseron* at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates (pp. 151-52), and the important discovery of Melito's Homily *On The Passion* which came to light in 1940 among the papyri recently obtained from Egypt by A. Chester Beatty and the University of Michigan (pp. 184-187).

However, here and there the book appears to be too sketchy. There is no doubt that the Acts of the early Christian martyrs belong to the most precious pieces of ancient Christian literature. The present volume does not deem it necessary to dedicate a paragraph to them. Similarly, liturgical documents of high importance have been neglected. The famous papyrus of Der-Balyzeh and the *Euchologion* of Serapion are not mentioned at all, not to speak of the recent discovery of a papyrus containing the Anaphora of the Egyptian Liturgy of St. Mark. Among the poetical literature the reviewer did not find any reference to the important inscriptions of Aberkios and Pectorius.

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The same sketchy character hinders the reader from getting an impression of the importance of the patristic writings for the development of Christian thought and doctrine. The chapter on the first apologists fails to point out that these apologists laid the foundations of Christian theology. The unique position which Irenaeus holds in the history of Christian thought does not appear in the chapter devoted to him. Instead of that we read as an introduction to the analysis of his works: "Toward A.D. 180, Christian leaders, hard pressed after half a century of schismatic movements, Docetic, Gnostic, and Marcionite, by the extravagant claims and eccentric activities of the Montanistic sect, took a leaf from Marcion's book, as it were, and agreed to organize the scattered Churches into one general, or catholic, Church, to maintain a standard type of Christianity" (p. 193). The content of Clement of Rome's *Letter to the Corinthians* and of Ignatius of Antioch's *Letters* make such a statement historically impossible. The same holds true for the following: "The Roman claim of primacy among the Bishops for its head began under Victor (+198) progressed under Callixtus who claimed the 'power of the keys' and reached a peak under Stephen who professed to occupy the 'chair of St. Peter' (p. 118).

Professor Goodspeed's theory regarding the problem of the *Didache* and Barnabas (pp. 31-33) is not very convincing. We cannot, in any event, establish an incontestable dependency of one upon the other. The fact that these two documents in the section dealing with the Two Way device bear such close resemblance might be explained by the possibility that both Barnabas' *Epistle* and the *Didache* are indebted to still another source.

JOHANNES QUASTEN

Catholic University of America

Christian Attitude Towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century, Especially as Shown in Addresses to the Emperor. By KENNETH M. SETTON. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 239. $2.75.)

Of the first centuries, the fourth, with its striking change in the relation of the Church to the State, and its far-reaching consequences, is of primary importance for the historian. The passing of Christianity from the position of a proscribed religion to that of the State religion, could not fail to produce a world of new ideas regarding the two great powers. Dr. Setton's book is a valuable contribution toward the investigation of this background of the contest between *imperium* and *sacerdotium* which started with Constantine the Great and his followers. It intends to reveal the place of the Roman Emperor in the thought of the fourth-century Church Fathers, and depicts the ecclesiastical authors' view of the character of the imperial office, its divine origin and sanctity, its limitations, the duties and

functions pertaining to it, its relations to the episcopacy on the one hand and to the whole ecclesiastical policy on the other.

The book consists of nine chapters. In the Introduction the author discusses first the attitude towards the Emperor taken by Jesus and by the various writers of the New Testament as the basis of later patristic opinions; he then examines both the pagan and Christian views of the origin of imperial authority; and finally he analyses for purposes of contrast and comparison pagan panegyrical addresses from the *panegyricus Maximiano Augusto* to the panegyric on the Emperor Theodosius the Great by the rhetorician Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, and Christian pre-Constantinian addresses to the Emperor, as a background for the chapters that follow. In the latter the author deals with the leading Christian authorities of the fourth century, like Eusebius the historian, Athanasius, St. Ambrose, Synesius, and St. John Chrysostom. While the study is basically concerned, as its title indicates, with patristic addresses to the Emperor, a rounded estimate of the Fathers' attitude towards the imperial office has none the less been sought. A chapter has been added on patristic notices of images of the Emperor, the use by the Fathers of such images for purposes of illustration in their religious teaching, and the distinction so carefully drawn by Christians in the fourth century between Christian veneration and pagan worship of the ruler. An Epilogue summarizes the conclusions.

For his examination of the New Testament, the author should have discussed H. Windisch, *Imperium und Evangelium in Neuen Testament* (Kiel, 1931), a book with which he seems unacquainted. More regrettable is the fact that he evidently does not know F. J. Dölger's article, "Zur antiken und frühchristlichen Auffassung der Herrschergewalt von Gottes Gnaden in *Antike und Christentum*, III (1932), 117-131, nor E. Peterson's book, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Theologie im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig, 1935). Furthermore, the reviewer does not understand why the author excluded the three Cappadocians from his systematic investigations. He refers to them several times, but Basil the Great certainly deserves to have been examined in a special chapter. This omission leads to false conclusions in the book. Thus Dr. Setton says: "It was with St. Ambrose that the ecclesiastical defense against imperial efforts to subordinate the Church to the Empire passed into a new phase, and for the first time, so far as I have been able to note, it was the Emperor who deemed it necessary to appear on the defensive" (p. 149). This statement is incorrect. Thirteen years before, Basil had withstood the Emperor Valens at least with the same courage and success as Ambrose. The report which Gregory Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodoret give of Basil's interview with Modestus, the imperial prefect, is sufficient proof of this fact. Therefore, one may doubt the accuracy of Dr. Setton's conclusion: "It does not seem at all fanciful to

read in the success of St. Ambrose one of the chief reasons for the great influence of the medieval papacy in the West, and to find in the failure of St. John Chrysostom one of the chief causes of that imperial erastianism which remained pretty much a characteristic of the Byzantine Empire until its collapse in the fifteenth century" (p. 151). In the opinion of the reviewer the different development in East and West must be attributed to more important factors. One of them is the shift of the imperial office and the central government from the West to the East.

JOHANNES QUASTEN

Catholic University of America

Rome and the Counter Reformation in England. By PHILIP HUGHES. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1942. Pp. viii, 446. 18s.)

For some time the Counter Reformation in England has been ripening for a general treatment. In the short space of this review that statement cannot be fully elaborated, but the painstaking work of men like Lingard, Tierney, Foley, Knox, Pollen, Birt, Camm, Meyer, Jarrett, Hicks, and others too numerous to mention has resulted in a mass of carefully edited documents and scholarly monographs that calls for a synthesis. Father Hughes disclaims that his book "has anywhere offered itself as a general history of the Counter Reformation in England" (p. 274), but, whether intended or not, the first two parts of this book are a digest of the work that has been done on the movement and, as such, constitute a praiseworthy pioneer effort. In the third section, Father Hughes gives us, for the most part, the results of his own special studies on Dr. Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon.

Rome and the Counter Reformation in England embraces the hundred years lying between 1531 and 1631. Father Hughes weaves his story about the towering personalities on the Catholic side: Cardinal Pole for the reign of Mary, Cardinal Allen and Robert Persons, S.J., for the reign of Elizabeth, and Dr. Richard Smith for the early seventeenth century. The volume is divided into three books according to these three time periods.

One not acquainted with the literature of the period will find this an informative survey. One who knows the field will discover little new matter in the first two parts, although he will find many interesting observations and some arresting approaches. For instance, Father Hughes in calling attention to the existence of the lay spirit in religious matters by the time of Mary's accession truly indicates the key to her difficulties. This explanation is seen rarely enough to be novel. The copious use of Christina Garrett's *Marian Exiles* not only highlights that valuable work but also forcibly points out the little-known genesis of Cecil's religious program.

Chapter IV of Book II collects the statistics on the martyrs into illuminating tables, then it analyzes the concept of treason, and by applying this analysis to the statistics demonstrates that the charge of treason was a fraud. This chapter along with Meyer's Chapter II in his *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth* should furnish all the information necessary for a hearty appreciation of what the English martyrs really were—heroic witnesses to the faith. There are some valuable observations on persecution before 1570 (p. 143). If anyone thinks that the Anglican Church under Henry VIII was simply the ancient Church with Henry as pope, he should read pages 17-20. "Were the high ecclesiastics who encouraged and blessed the projects of private individuals to kill Elizabeth guilty of murder?" Father Hughes answers "No," but boldly announces that it was only for lack of information that Rome came to bless what to England, then and since, could only look like murder, and what, objectively, was murder (p. 221).

The third part of the book which deals with the unseemly quarrels that severed the Catholic body, also contains the author's special study on Dr. Richard Smith. In fairness to Father Hughes, it should be noted that he apologizes for this section—the war effectively closed the archives before he had completed his research. Inaccessibility of materials may explain why we receive accounts, substantially unchanged, of the Archpriest and Oath controversies as they have been given in Tierney and others. The fact is, though, that the story is quite different, as the researches of Leo Hicks, S.J., are now proving. The sections on Dr. Smith make up into a case of special pleading. We are given only his side in the exceedingly complicated struggle over resident bishops in England. In Father Hughes' account of these controversies the leading Jesuits fare badly. He has some severe criticism for Father Persons, the "politician." Very probably, Father Persons, the "politician," was far from blameworthy, but failure to balance these remarks with reference to the vast work for the good of the Mission done by Persons is misleading. Likewise, the Jesuits' side in the Smith controversy must be examined before an impartial verdict can be pronounced on the *affaire Smith*. All of which occasions the observation—in which Father Hughes would concur (p. 6)—that the interested searcher after truth desperately needs a biography of Persons and a history of the Society of Jesus in England before he can form a balanced judgment about the bitter controversies between the seculars and regulars which poisoned the stream of the English Counter Reformation at its source. This much can be said for Father Hughes: he has ably championed the cause of the Bishop of Chalcedon. Let the jury next hear the case for the opposition and the cross-examination of witnesses.

Rome and the Counter Reformation is a war-time book. It lacks meticulous proof reading. Lest that statement seem gratuitous, the following

typographical errors are noted: Angel for Ancel (p. 39 n.); legastine for legatine (p. 72); txpose for expose (p. 82); Cafetan for Cajetan (p. 108); *misprison* for misprision (p. 190); *ellow* for fellow (p. 372). *These* kind on p. 49 should be this kind. *That* in note 2, p. 297, should read than. Not typographical but none the less inexact is the statement that the yearly fine paid by the Catholic recusant amounted to 240 pounds (p. 228). Since the twenty pounds a month was exacted according to the lunar months, the yearly sum was 260 pounds. In the finely-drawn sketch of Cardinal Pole no mention is made of the fact that he was not as yet ordained when he assisted at the Council of Trent or when he could have had the papal tiara for the acceptance. A minor point, to be sure, but one of great interest.

In general, the style is smooth and readable, but an involved sentence structure which halts the flow of the narrative occurs rather too often. The following is offered as an example: "He has the distinction that after petitioning Clement VII to grant Henry his divorce that Pope refused to accept him as Bishop of Bangor, and so he was consecrated despite the Pope, the second English bishop to be consecrated on the royal authority" (p. 87).

Eight illustrations, a fairly complete Bibliography, and an Index of Proper Names complete the text.

FREDERICK E. WELFLE

John Carroll University

Missionary and Mandarin, The Jesuits at the Court of China. By ARNOLD H. ROWBOTHAM. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 374. $3.00.)

This is the history of the missionaries who strove to realize Xavier's dream of christianizing China. It is a study not so much of the mission work itself as of the cultural relations effected by the missionaries between Europe and China. The author gives an account of the work of the Jesuit scientists at the royal court in Peking and then in what are perhaps his most informative chapters describes the influence exercised on Western culture by the Jesuit missionaries in the many letters and documents which they sent to Europe during a period of two hundred years. The author tells us in the Preface that he is "a sympathetic non-Catholic." No one can read the book without recognizing this good will, and so if there are a few statements at variance with Catholic theology, we may let that pass.

But when we come to the field of history, the reviewer must be less benign. The main defect of the work is the lack of discrimination in the choice and use of sources. Thus in the chapter on Xavier the use of second-rate authorities leads to inexact statements that would have been avoided if the author had consulted Xavier's own letters published in the

Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu or the scholarly works of Georg Schurhammer, S.J., on Xavier. Though he clearly wishes to be impartial and objective, yet in many passages Professor Rowbotham manifests incorrect concepts of the spirit, aims, and methods of the Jesuits. Thus without any explicit reference he speaks of "the cunning diplomacy" of their missionaries (p. 225) and of the pride of power which finally brought about the suppression of the Society (p. 292); all of which sounds like the echo of anti-Jesuit works. It would have been a wise precaution to read Duhr's *Jesuiten-Fabeln* as an antidote to such sources. Professor Rowbotham refers to the stress the Jesuits laid on "establishing members of their order as confessors of kings and princes" (p. 42). This is very similar to the thought expressed on page 75 of René Fülöp-Miller's *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, which is listed in the Bibliography as a "thorough review of Jesuit history." It may be a review, but it is neither thorough nor reliable. (Cf. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, I [1932], 138-142.)

Nowhere is the uncritical handling of sources more apparent than in the question of the Chinese Rites. In treating of the De Tournon legation the author bases the greater part of his account on the *Memorie storiche dell' Em. Mgr. Cardinale di Tournon* ... This is a work of unequal value and should have been used with great caution. No attempt is made to control inaccuracies by the *Mémorial* of Père Thomas (mentioned p. 321, n. 18), which is a French translation of the *Compendium Actorum Pekinensium* of Kilian Stumpf, S.J., an important document for any serious study of the De Tournon episode. In the Bibliography the various works of Pasquale d'Elia, S.J., on Ricci should have found a mention, especially his *Il mappamondo cinese del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.* Mention should have been made also of Josson-Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest* and of the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (Rome, 1932-), in several numbers of which are found articles of interest on the Jesuit China mission.

A few minor slips may be noted. It was a papal brief, not a bull (p. 189) that effected the suppression of the Society of Jesus, not its dissolution (pp. 257, 323). "John II" of Spain (p. 42) should be "John III" of Portugal. The tomb of Xavier is not on the island of Shang Ch'uan (p. 47) but at Goa. Ricci died in 1610, not 1615 (p. 52). It should be "Brother", not "Father" Castiglione (p. 187).

The reviewer would not like to give the impression that the work is without real value. In a future edition, it is hoped, the blemishes may be removed. The volume is documented and has an adequate Index and a well-selected Bibliography. Written in a readable style, it is a most interesting book.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

Alma College

Kwangsi: Land of the Black Banners. By JOSEPH CUENOT of the Paris Foreign Mission Society. Translated by George F. Wiseman. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. xvii, 279. $2.75.)

Kwangsi is one of the provinces in southeastern China, bordering on Tonkin. The country is rather poor, full of naked hills and has no plains; its mineral resources have hardly been tapped. The people, consisting of three different linguistic groups, have a great hatred for foreigners. This was especially fostered by fear of annexation by the French from Tonkin. The people of Kwangsi were enemies of the Manchu dynasty and from among them rose the leader of the Taiping Rebellion as well as the revolutionist, Sun Yat Sen, the father of the present Chinese Republic.

This province had been entrusted to the Paris Foreign Mission Society for missionary work. In this book it is the intention of Father Cuenot to set forth the Society's missionary efforts, its difficulties and results, and to explain in particular the missionary methods employed in Kwangsi. The author does not intend to give the complete history of mission work, but the practical methods he presents systematically, although briefly.

The first five chapters give a short historical summary of the mission, the martyrs of Kwangsi, and the political situation. Chapters six to twelve explain the missionary methods employed. Almost every line reveals treasures of long practical experience. Though these chapters portray local colors of this particular field of Kwangsi, yet there is much in common with all the mission efforts in China. Speaking about the auxiliaries, his remarks about catechists and native sisters are most valuable. Concerning the training of the new converts in Christian life, the author stresses the need of making acts of faith. The Protestants neglect this; hence their new converts remain immersed in pagan life and superstitition. In line with this goes the practice of adorning the homes with beautiful verses of gospel maxims in order to replace the superstitious maxims of the old pagan scroll, a practice which the old missionaries had adopted.

Regarding difficulties in mission work, he mentions the following: the different languages, the forming of Catholic families, especially the obstacles in converting young women, the lack of financial support, and the scarcity of new missionaries. The latter is more in evidence in Kwangsi than in any other mission in China. From 1914-1923 not a single new missionary from Europe was sent. In contrast to the few Catholic missionaries, the Protestant missionaries came in large numbers and were well supported from home. This situation was remedied by ceding the southeastern part of Kwangsi to the Maryknoll Fathers. Another hindrance to successful mission work was the transfer of missionaries, and the author explains the reasons in detail. In spite of very adverse circumstances in their missionary work, however, the courage of the missionaries remains undaunted.

Father Cuenot's book, *Au pays des Pavillons—noirs* was made available for English readers in the present volume. The translator has rendered a real service to English readers and has added three chapters which form about one-third of the volume. In the first appears a biographical sketch of Bishop Ducoeur, a true ideal missionary personality. The following chapter tells of the arrival and labor of the first Maryknoll missionaries in Kwangsi from 1920 to about 1926, the translator himself being one of the pioneer missionaries. In the last three pages a short account is given of the Japanese invasion of Kwangsi in 1939. The detailed Index offers a real aid in the use of the volume.

MATHIAS BRAUN

St. Paul's Mission House
Epworth, Iowa

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841). By MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 140. Paper. $1.50; Cloth, $2.00.)

The title of this work describes its contents. It contains "names and biographies of over seven hundred Franciscan friars who were intimately associated with the earliest missionary field in our nation's history, the territory of Spanish Florida."

In addition to the dictionary of friars who actually labored in Cuba or Spanish Florida (the present-day states of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina), Father Geiger gives a brief historical sketch of Franciscan missionary activity in that region. An interesting and informative item is the explanation of the duties of the commissary-general of the Franciscans who resided in Madrid. The description of that office provides a striking illustration of how the *patronato real* worked out in practise. The inclusion of the mission lists and reports in the Appendix makes available material that might not otherwise be readily at hand.

Many of the friars mentioned in this book are well known to students of the Spanish borderlands. Many others, however, have hitherto been unknown. Through their listing here, many new avenues of research may be opened that may add considerably to the knowledge of the early history of our Southeast.

This volume is a most valuable reference work. As Father Geiger correctly points out: "it may be said without exaggeration that at least a third of Spanish colonial history is missionary history." By providing the historian and the student with this informative guide to the men who made that history in Cuba and Spanish Florida, the author has gone far toward obtaining a better balance between the political and ecclesiastical history of

the region. Studies of a similar nature for the other sections of our Spanish borderlands are promised. It is to be hoped that they will appear, for from works such as this comes ultimately the finished history of a place or a people.

EDWARD J. MCCARTHY

Villanova College

The Dominican Province of Saint Joseph. Historico-Biographical Studies. By VICTOR FRANCIS O'DANIEL, O.P. (New York: National Headquarters of the Holy Name Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 517. $4.00.)

This history fills a gap in the wide chasm that must be closed by monographs on dioceses, parishes, religious communities, and individual persons before a complete history of the Church in the United States can be written. It fills a large gap, for the Dominicans played an important role in building up religious life along the Ohio River, particularly in the states of Kentucky and Ohio. It is pioneer history in the best use of the term, for "the Dominican Province of Saint Joseph was the first of the religious orders established in our country by a native American," and the province supplied the American hierarchy with men like Fenwick, the founder of the province, Alemany, Miles, Whelan, and Grace. The monograph reveals the progressiveness of these pioneer men, who started their work by inaugurating a college in the wilds of Kentucky where Jefferson Davis at one time was a pupil, and who continued with a similar attempt at educational endeavor in Ohio; who added the Sinsinawa Mound college in Wisconsin to their efforts for a time and even thought of taking charge of the school that eventually became Creighton University. Meanwhile they were preaching the gospel in wide-flung areas. In those early days they even attempted to prepare two Indian youths for the priesthood in the Dominican Order. They expanded their usefulness by founding a branch of the Dominican Sisters to care for the education of the little ones. Eventually this province of St. Joseph became the source of the provinces of the Holy Name on the Pacific coast and of St. Albert the Great west of the Mississippi, with the inclusion of the states of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Louisiana. During the first century of its existence the growth of the province in membership was not at all commensurate with the importance of the projects undertaken, but expansion and growth came after the turn of the century.

The province is fortunate in having the veteran historian, Father O'Daniel, as its official interpreter. He has long since entrenched his reputation behind the biographies of important Dominican pioneers and is therefore able to refer the reader to these works of thorough research. Consequently this history may be called a synthesis of the earlier works with the addition of valuable new contributions. Whether it will make the province "known as it has never been known before," will remain a matter of conjecture in the face of the form into which it was cast as "historico-biographical studies." As such it contains a wealth of historical material

concerning individuals and is a precious necrology of the province, helpful to the historian, but of less interest to the general public because the continuity of the narrative is broken and the impression of mere apology is often created.

In the chapters on the missionaries apostolic, the church historian will find many interesting solutions of intricate problems from documentary sources, or with clear reference to them. These chapters will silence those writers who do not seem to understand that a religious may be occupied outside his cloister walls directly subject to a bishop with the full approbation of the Church and yet need not be a vagabond under suspicion, as some writers so glibly assert. Father O'Daniel deserves the grateful acknowledgment of historians for this elucidation and the description of the useful services performed by such men. Yet it would seem that his intense interest in the matter—leaving out of consideration the apologetic ebullitions of the introductory and prefatory writer—at times led the author to overdraw his deductions. Concerning the Ohio field, for instance, he says: "Those firstlings had the hardships, the privations, the sacrifices. The clergy who came later reaped the harvest they had sown" (p. 62). We need refer only to accounts of men like Résé, Henni, and Kundig, to realize that non-Dominicans were also inured to these hardships, and that they bore them heroically to the great benefit of souls. It also seems exaggerated, in the light of the known standing of other bishops, to state that "the life of Bishop Connolly stands apart from that of nearly all our American hierarchy" (p. 121). Similar over-statements will be found in other parts of the book, particularly when individual Dominicans are appraised. Their worth can be estimated just as well, probably better, if they are not set on too high a pedestal.

These strictures should in no wise detract from the value of the work as such. The book represents an astounding amount of painstaking research over a long period of time by a capable research worker who is sincerely looking for the truth. Other historians will always be grateful to Father O'Daniel for the source material he has uncovered and they will revert to it when they write the definitive history of the Church in the United States.

THEODORE ROEMER

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Chester's Century of Catholicism, 1842-1942. By JOSEPH M. O'HARA, Ph.D., Pastor of Old St. Michael's, Chester, Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: Peter Reilly Co. 1942. Pp. xxii, 221. $2.50.)

This book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. The Foreword is from the pen of a native

son of St. Michael's, Monsignor Peter Guilday, *facile princeps* among Catholic church historians in this country.

The Preface begins with the sentence: "History is a systematic narrative of past events." Dr. O'Hara's volume is exactly that. It is divided into twenty-two chapters all connected by logical sequence. The author takes us back to 1730, when the first Mass in Chester County or Ivy Mills was celebrated in the domestic chapel of the Thomas Wilcox Mansion. The chapter entitled "Bishop John Carroll" is a noteworthy instance of *multum in parvo*. The next chapter treats of the creation of the Diocese of Philadelphia, April, 1808, which included "the entire two States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the western and southern part of New Jersey." A well-deserved tribute is paid to Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick. "The State of Catholicity," taken largely from Professor Guilday's *A History of the Baltimore Councils*, is a mine of information on the growth of the Church from 1840 to 1860.

Dr. O'Hara then takes up the founding of St. Michael's and we learn that within a short time the number of Catholics in Chester increased from one or two families to a congregation large enough to necessitate a new parish. As he proceeds with his narrative he introduces the reader to a long line of devoted priests, pastors, and curates, who labored with consuming zeal for their flock. From 1850 to 1877 Father Arthur Peter Haviland, the first resident pastor, bore "the burden of the day and the heats," leaving behind him golden memories.

The author gives full credit to his faithful and generous parishioners who gave their best to the church. No one is overlooked. A captious critic might object that the volume contains too much detail, but this reviewer would answer that it is not the detail that wearies the reader, but the detail that makes for thoroughness. The footnotes are interesting and instructive. The Index is thorough and comprehensive. *Chester's Century of Catholicism* may well serve as a model of its kind. The reviewer sincerely congratulates the author on his work and assures him that, although it was written mainly for the parishioners of old St. Michael's, it deserves to have a much larger circle of readers.

JOHN F. BYRNE

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Second Sowing. By MARGARET WILLIAMS. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 495. $3.50.)

Students of American church history will find the life of Mother Mary Aloysia Hardey a valuable contribution. This work is an epic story of the days of the South before "The War"; days of persecution from the

Know-Nothings and Maria Monk's book; the birth of the nation in the War between the States; the Reconstruction Period; the opening of the West; the growth and expansion of the United States into a world power.

Mother Mary Aloysia was a woman of pioneer stock reaching back to the planting of the Maryland colony. Gifted with spirituality of a high order, seeking only the establishment of the kingdom of God through devotion to the Sacred Heart, she towers like Judith and establishes her community with a success beyond her expectations. Sanity and sanctity enabled this outstanding woman of the Catholic Church in the United States to meet and surmount the innumerable obstacles which faced not only her own community but the entire Church in the States during the last century.

Primitive living conditions, changing tides of immigration, limited transportation, the need of teachers and of schools, lack of vocations and funds, besides misunderstandings and lack of vision on the part of Church leaders in those days, were some of the heart-rending trials to be met in the years covered by the life of Mother Mary Aloysia. The secret of her success as revealed by this book is undoubtedly her deep spirituality and her native ability to understand the American yearning for cultural development. The members of her congregation will always find a delight in living over the experiences of their revered member.

Mother Margaret Williams has developed an extensive background and supplied numerous details to create in word pictures a complete and moving action. General readers, in spite of the length of the volume, will be carried along by the charm of the style and the interest of the story. Mother Williams is an acknowledged authority on words and their usage. Readers will unconsciously place her latest volume alongside that of Willa Cather's *Death Comes to the Archbishop*.

The author has added to the long roster of saintly men and women builders of the Church in America the name of a noble, valiant woman whose charming simplicity and directness of action will live long in the mind of those who come to know her through *Second Sowing*.

EDWARD P. MCADAMS

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GENERAL HISTORY

History and Its Neighbors. By EDWARD MASLIN HULME, Professor of History, Emeritus, Stanford University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 197. $2.00.)

"History", declares Professor Hulme, "is the story of the essential thoughts and deeds of man (p. 5) . . . of the total accomplishment of man." (p. 125). The task of the historian is therefore a gigantic one and Hulme divides his description and analysis of it into two parts. The first dis-

cusses the art and science of history, and the methods employed by the professional historian in the collection, evaluation, and presentation of his subject matter; the second is a compilation of the sciences ancillary to history, its "neighbors"—archaeology, philosophy, philology, biology—twenty-nine in all. The work, in general, is an interesting introduction to historiography, based not alone on the long experience of the author, but on the writings and lectures of other front-rank historians as well.

Part two fails, however, to give to the student of historical method a clear picture of how the historian uses those kindred sciences; it suffers too from the bias of the author who dismisses cavalierly both philosophy and sociology, for example, while lauding astronomy and evolutionary biology.

The historian will oppose Hulme's unduly emphasizing the use of the miraculous—of historical necromancy, that magical "guessing by happy instinct" (p. 43), divination. Far too many otherwise competent historians have clouded their works, as well as reputations, by too strong a dependence on guess work. This is a common fault with students. The ability to suspend judgment, at least until sufficient evidence has been gathered, remains all too rare a quality. And while complete objectivity is neither possible nor desirable, the historian should avoid "advocacy . . . of causes that deserve to be championed" (p. 127). Such procedure is for the propagandist and detracts from the value of an historical work.

Further, the value of the entire work is compromised because the author has interpreted it entirely according to his own philosophy, a sea of materialism in which he seems to have foundered. "Right and wrong are only fictions created by society . . ." (p. 168), he says, and "psychology . . . has done away with all belief in supernatural intervention in human affairs . . ." (p. 175). Astronomy and biology, too, receive credit for doing this (p. 132).

Catholic and Protestant, alike, will oppose Hulme's iconoclasm which makes of Christ only "a peasant leader" (p. 154), the Bible (quoting Justin Winsor), an "alleged sacred book" (p. 167), and the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, *tendenzios* written by men "in order to justify their own opinions" (p. 69). With unmistakable innuendo he discounts miracles, "priestly frauds and bogus cures" (from Dean W. R. Inge),—declaring that belief in them depends not upon objective facts but upon "the subjective conditions of the minds of the witnesses" (pp. 71-73). There is also a constantly recurring idea that supernatural religion and education, like python and mongoose, are natural enemies, and much space is devoted to death-blows inflicted on the former. Religion might well give that famous reply, attributed to Mark Twain, on the reports of its death.

Incidentally, since Professor Hulme's reputation rests largely on his *Renaissance and Reformation*, he should undoubtedly realize that the great authority on the Papacy, Ludwig von Pastor, was not a Catholic priest (p. 165).

This volume, in short, does succeed in convincing us of the accuracy of Hulme's dictum, that " perhaps the worst introduction to history is another man's philosophy of it."

MICHAEL F. DILLON, JR.

Immaculate Heart College
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Geopolitik. Doctrine of National Self-Sufficiency and Empire. By JOHANNES MATTERN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. 139, xiv. $2.00.)

" Geopolitik is the science dealing with the dependence of political events upon the soil. It is based upon the broad foundations of geography, especially political geography, which is the doctrine of political organisms of space and their structure " (p. 74). It is on this definition, worked out by the German editors of the *Review of Geopolitics*—a definition almost identical to that offered by Professor Haushofer (p. 45), the outstanding scientist of this group, that Dr. Mattern bases his study.

In recent years geopolitics has become a fashionable topic for writers in the United States and England. But since Dr. Mattern is especially concerned with the historic aspects offered by this problem, his study deserves a place of its own; and this review will deal exclusively with this part of the writing. There is no doubt that the history of the problems centering around geopolitics is highly important for the history of political thought in general.

The historian of ideas is inevitably confronted by two alternative dangers. Since historical life offers no distinct categories, but produces problems each of which is interwoven with an infinite number of others, the historian, if he attempts to explain all the possible relations, will appear prolix and tedious; the reader will feel lost and weary. If, however, he strives for clear-cut formulations, for a " neat " presentation, the reader may object that much has been omitted of interest and value for historical life. The first of these dangers Dr. Mattern has succeeded in avoiding—otherwise, the 132 pages of his text would have sufficed for hardly more than the introduction. Nevertheless this concise treatment does not give the clear-cut impression that should be expected, partly because of the arrangement of chapters. The reviewer feels compelled to challenge certain titles of these chapters, e.g., the section dealing with Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, and Ranke being called " History Presents a Puppet-Show."

The European historians of the nineteenth century, who liked to think of their age as the historical period *par excellence*, attempted to explain historical life by isolating some one particular sphere which was made to be the cause of all the other spheres. Of such attempts it is the economic,

usually called the materialistic, approach of Karl Marx which is the best known. We may recall also the political trend of the Prussian historical school, the emphasis upon race given by Gobineau, and the approach held by Freud at the end of the century. Along with these there developed also the tendency to chart the course of history according to geographical conditions. In his chapter, "The Germans Chart Their Course," Professor Mattern outlines the ideas of the group who developed this trend. The reviewer does not understand the inclusion within this group—which contained Karl Ritter and Friedrich Ratzel—of Alexander Humboldt, in spite of his importance as a geographer (his brother criticized him to the effect that he never built up general ideas out of his concrete observations). A historian of geopolitical ideology may rather point to Turgot, who in his first *Discours*, written in 1750, emphasized the importance of geographical conditions for historical life—an idea, moreover, for which antecedents may be found as far back as ancient Greece, and, in more modern times, in Bodin and Montesquieu.

But in a work of only 132 pages there is hardly room for a treatment of all the important names; indeed, even the names mentioned by Dr. Mattern are too many to receive an adequate treatment in so small a space. Thus we cannot expect to find his remarks on such figures as Hegel and Fichte—who are at one point called contemporaries, though the political thoughts of the one represent the period of the Wars of Deliverance, those of the other the age of the Restoration—Gobineau, and Nietzsche very satisfying or illuminating in their reference to geopolitics (cf. *e.g.*, p. 19). Undoubtedly Dr. Mattern himself is aware of this lacuna. He has rightly said: "To tell the essentials of the history of Geopolitik we must dive deep into the recesses of those preaching and practicing the doctrine. We must ... seek to uncover the innermost driving forces which have created in their minds the conviction of the need, alleged or real, of greater living space" (p. 27). And this task is certainly not an easy one.

At this point the reviewer is obliged to object to a certain vagueness in Dr. Mattern's presentation, a vagueness which perhaps finds its stylistic expression in the phrase, "and what not," used frequently by him as a conclusion of enumerations of any kind. The beginning of the second chapter, "A New Name Hides an Old Device," may offer a few examples: "[Men] build not only factories, highways and dynamos; they also construct the ideological equivalents of all these material instrumentalities, in the form of social and political doctrines ..." (p. 29). What is meant by "the ideological equivalents"? Is this meant to suggest, in the manner of Marx, a causal relation? Otherwise, this would seem to be only a truism. Or what are we to understand when the author characterizes the period after the fall of the Roman Empire as "feudal individualistic atomism" (p. 33)? For amplification he adds: "under this system the strong

personality came into his own." One is reminded of the somewhat old-fashioned description of the period of the Renaissance; but our author would put the age of the strong personality subsequent to the fifth century. The historical period which next ensued is described in this way: "with the gradually enforced submission of the feudal lordlings under one stronger national overlord, there appeared the national monarchical administrative state" (p. 33 ff.). In this case, would it not be necessary to explain what could be understood by a national overlord? Whether and how the idea of a "nation" could emerge at this time, is a problem for the historian. Again, is the question of British imperialism really to be exhausted by a formula so simple as: "what has been the century-old history of British Empire-building but the story of English Geopolitik—even where and when it was hallowed as the litany of the White Man's Burden?" We cannot but remember that Professor Mattern wanted to "dive deep into the recesses of the consciousness" of men.

As the author rightly states, geopolitics, especially in the form it received at the hands of the Swedish political scientist, Rudolph J. Kjellen, "treats the state as living organism acting as such in relation to other states" (p. 69). The reviewer would add that here again the chain of ideas reaches back at least to Machiavelli, perhaps to Marsilius of Padua, and that through the history of the post-Renaissance periods there runs the highly significant trend of the ideas on the *raison d'Etat*, with its teaching in regard to the "interests" of the different political configurations. Moreover, some of the ideas which Mattern quotes as characteristic of Kjellen may be found, coupled with keener observation and more striking expression, in Machiavelli. As for the relationship between the Swedish scholar and Ranke, the author calls attention to a reference of Kjellen's to the latter who had also likened states to "superindividual beings" (p. 70). But Professor Mattern overlooks a rather important difference in point of view: to the German historian these political individualities were at the same time, "thoughts of God."

This question, of "the state as a living organism" is basic to the history of geopolitics and Professor Mattern presents a discussion of this problem in his chapter entitled, "History Presents a Puppet-Show." But is such a problem to be resolved by quoting a few isolated sentences from the writings of Plato or of Aristotle—from whom it would be possible to cite other statements of a quite different import? For example, we read at the end of the ninth book of the *Republic:* "he will look at the city which is within him and take heed that no disorder occur in it . . ." But this method is without touching upon the real problem of organism for the philosopher's political thought. Dealing so summarily with these Greek thinkers, Dr. Mattern offers us also the fable of Agrippa, turning then to John of Salisbury—without even mentioning the problem of the *corpus mysticum*—and from John, who

wrote about 1160, he passes directly to Thomas Hobbes of the seventeenth century, omitting a writer so important for the history of this problem as Marsilius of Padua. However interesting may be the details included in the survey, the reviewer deplores a treatment of this sort for a problem which, though very difficult to deal with, is of outstanding importance. One may assume that this theme of organic analogy must have had meanings and implications quite distinct in the course of the centuries.

As for the modern period, no mention is made of the various attitudes toward the idea of "social organism," as these may be found in Burke or the German Romantics (Adam Mueller for example). Ranke is dealt with, but the quotation given hardly does justice to the subtleties involved in the historian's attitude (p. 94). It would have been worthwhile to deal with a second-rate man like Gumplowicz in connection with this problem. The reviewer has also failed to find any discussion of such a question as when was similarity, when was identity claimed for the relation between the structure of man and that of the state or the social organism? One must, of course, recognize the very great difficulties that beset any treatment of such problems, and one may be grateful for every contribution made.

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

Catholic University of America

Judgment of the Nations. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 222. $2.50.)

In these present times of confusion and calamity the reading public will welcome the calm and measured judgments of Christopher Dawson. One feels humble indeed in any review or criticism of his keen analyses. His knowledge of the great movements in the history of man, his exceptional scholarship and objectivity, give to his works an authority that the reviewer is slow to question or deny.

His present work is concerned with an analysis of the causes of the disintegration of Western civilization and a sober prescription for the restoration of a Christian order. The modern historian hesitates to tie up past events and movements with present happenings. He fears that he will be reading into the past meanings which justify his own emotions and prejudices of the present. One can understand his hesitancy in such matters when one realizes certain extreme and ridiculous interpretations and lessons drawn from the past ages which only the most extravagant rationalizations could justify. A writer of not many years ago damned the New Deal on the basis of his interpretations of social and political life in Plato's day. Yet much of this hesitancy on the part of modern historians indicates a kind of despair of finding truth either in history or anywhere else; it is

all but a part of modern cynicism which has rendered much of present-day scholarship utterly sterile.

Mr. Dawson finds meaning in history and like unto any Christian historian he possesses a philosophy of history. He is unafraid to assert that dislocations of the present day have had their beginnings in the break-up of Christendom in the sixteenth century, in the secularization of Western culture, and in the false liberalism of the nineteenth century. One may quarrel with some of his propositions in his present work as, for instance, when he would seem to assert that there is something in Lutheranism which makes for Prussian stateism whereas in Calvinism one finds the seeds of modern democracy. Such a thesis would leave unexplained the democracy of the Lutheran Scandinavian countries and Finland. If democracy springs from Calvinistic backgrounds may we not more readily ascribe it to the worth which Calvinism placed upon an economic success which could not tolerate governmental control or supervision? For the most part, however, Dawson's analysis of past causes of present ills would seem to be altogether sound and uncontestable.

Outstanding in his prescriptions for the restoration of a sound Christian order are his critique of planning and his recommendation of co-operation among all religions which hold a common belief in God for the laying of a sound spiritual basis for future society. His critique of planning is too definitely colored by the absolute practices of totalitarian states. Planning, we should like to suggest to Mr. Dawson, is possible on a co-operative basis and native cultures need not be disturbed by it. More important for all readers is the recommendation of co-operation among all holding sound spiritual values. Herein Mr. Dawson touches upon a most profound necessity.

In a brief review one cannot indicate the full worth of this book. For the scholar and for the student it is an indispensable work.

JEROME G. KERWIN

University of Chicago

A History of Social Thought. By PAUL HANLY FURFEY, Catholic University of America. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 468. $2.75.)

In this work an effort is made to give a portrait of the whole subject of social history in one stroke. Out of necessity one passes hurriedly through the different periods, noting places here and there with which he is well acquainted. Two methods are used by the author in presenting his picture of the social thought of the world. First, there is a review of the whole framework of history, from anthropology to World War II, with emphasis placed on eras, trends, epochs, and transitional periods; and secondly, a résumé is given of the men who have stood out in the stream of history by reason of their thoughts and actions.

The review of eras and trends carries the reader through Oriental and Greek philosophy, Roman law, the Church Fathers and the period of scholasticism's zenith. Coming to more modern times, the volume treats the age of naturalism as an era which precipitated liberalism. Liberalism is identified as expressing itself in art in the Renaissance, in religion in the Protestant Revolt, and in economy in individualism.

The selection of men who left their imprint upon the social thought of the world was, of course, difficult. The author has made a splendid choice, but he admits that his selection is one that will not please every critic.

Ancient history produced many great men who were leaders in social thought and included in Professor Furfey's list are Hammurabi, Confucius, Buddha, Moses, the Greek philosophers, and Justinian. In the early Church, St. Basil was the first social worker to care for the sick and the poor, and St. Chrysostom exerted a great influence by his magnificent thundering against the surplus property of the rich. In this era, however, it remained for Augustine to excel others for his writings, which caused profound social changes. The Middle Ages gave us Thomas Aquinas, whose philosophy is today coming into such happy acceptance on many sides. One is unable to understand, however, why the author does not duly emphasize the contributions made by Augustine and Thomas to the social thought of the world, for these two figures are not given the setting proper to them.

The break-up of the Middle Ages was followed by that unhappy book, *The Prince*, which has had an influence not widely recognized. Space is given to the influence of Kant and to Descartes' effort to find a mathematical basis for philosophy. Liberalism developed with the contract theory of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau; and Grotius became the father of international law. Attention is given to Smith in economics; and again others—Hegel, Burke, and Paine—in politics. The magnificent contributions of Suarez, Bellarmine, Leo XIII, and Pius XI are placed in happy parallel to the gloomy disillusionment of our day, so well represented by Spengler.

The author defines the history of social thought as follows: "The history of social thought will include the history of sociology, of economics, of political science and also the history of religions, of education, of philosophy, and even of literature and other disciplines, in so far as all these deal with group life" (p. 3). This definition appears rather total and embracing and suggests no narrow aspect of history. There are those who may contend that it is typical of the tortured subject matter of a sociologist. All of this to the contrary, Professor Furfey, unlike some of his contemporaries, is one sociologist who can be followed with docility because he does not see in sociology the potentialities of a master science with which to unlock all of the secrets of being, order, time, and space. To many also it doubtless appears that the subject of the social thought of the world does not lend

itself to a neat compartmentalizing or the simple consistency found in *A History of Social Thought*. Perhaps such treatment to them leads to an over-simplification. However, the author took as his thesis a presentation of a short outline of the social thought through the ages, and this he has done admirably. Unquestionably here is a model that could some day serve as a skeleton for a profound and masterful work wherein the influence of each era and figure would be exhaustibly explored. The author by the grasp, balance, and industry displayed in this work appears to be the man to do this task.

THOMAS E. WILEY

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Vita S. Malchi of Reginald of Canterbury. Edited by LEVI R. LIND. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1942. Pp. 245. Paper $3.00; Cloth $3.50.)

This volume is a critical edition of the *magnum opus* of a Norman Benedictine monk of the eleventh century. The work, previously unedited, is a religious epic of six books written in Leonine hexameter and based upon the prose life of Malchus by St. Jerome. The edition is based upon MS. Bodl. Laud. Misc. 40 (L) of the early twelfth century which contains (fols. 1-68) the oldest complete form of the *Vita*. A second redaction is represented by MSS. Bodl. Laud. Misc. 500 (La), Bodl. Digbeianus 65 (D); Mus. Brit. Cotton. Vesp. E III (C), and Monacensis 18580 (T). Another and shorter form of the *Vita* found in MS. Oxon. Coll. Merton. 241 (M) is believed by the editor to be a first draft made directly from Jerome's work, and later amplified into the more elaborate form found in the other redactions. In general the editor adheres to L, changing its readings only where he considers it manifestly bad. In a few instances, however, the departure from L seems unjustified, as in IV, 370, where *colubrorum* is substituted for *colubrinam* (L) which fits both meter and sense; in V, 221, *funditur* (L) in its commonly used middle meaning seems preferable to *finditur* (CT) which the editor chooses; in VI, 276, *potifer* (LTD) is rejected in favor of *pontifex* which has no meaning with the genitive *sacri haustus*. The Scriptural allusion and the *lectio difficilior* as well as the MS. evidence would seem to favor the retention of *potifer*.

The punctuation, as revised by the editor, is generally satisfactory. In I, 109, a misplaced period separates *quicquid honestatis fuerit, quicquid pietatis* from its governing verb *doceri* whose second accusative is regularly retained in the passive. In II, 223 the translation suggested by the editor in the note is not admitted by the punctuation of the text. If *amor virtusque* is to be considered hendiadys and object of *subaudis* the nouns must be ac-

cusative. Perhaps *subaudis* should be considered parenthetical and punctuated accordingly. In II, 391 the editor omits punctuation at the end of the verse and construes *subdere* as complementary infinitive with *studeasque* (notes p. 217). *Subdere* seems rather to be a passive imperative with the meaning be made subject to. The period should be placed at the end of v. 391, and omitted at the end of v. 392. In IV, 557 the period should be omitted because *virgo Cythera,* subject of *querit* appears in v. 558 which should be followed by a period. In V, 3 there should be no period after *extitit* which is predicate in the *quae* clause.

The translations suggested in the notes are in several instances misleading. In I, 280 *salsugo* is rendered salt water, which is its classical meaning. In Scripture the word normally designates desolation or sterility. Cf. Job 39, 6: *Tabernacula eius in terra salsuginis* and Ps. 106, 34: *Terram fructiferam in salsuginem.* In V, 241, the editor misses the significance of *placitum* in the mediaeval period. It is normally a noun used to indicate an assembly at which judicial decisions were made. The tone of the whole passage, especially the use of the words *causa* and *litis,* indicates that the meaning of the verse is: "he put a happy end to the proceedings with blood." In V, 382 *lacus* is used with the meaning of lion's den as in the *Cathemerinon* of Prudentius. It is certainly not a lake as the notes on this passage and on V, 462 imply. In VI, 427 *activa* (*factitia*) *vita* signifies the life of active charity as it is described in the writings of the Fathers. (Cf. Augustine *De Trinitate,* I, xx; Gregory, *Moralia,* VI, 61). This is clear from the enumeration of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy in vv. 429-435. In this same connection the translation suggested for v. 425 seems unfortunate. In this instance *dativi* appears to have the same meaning as *activi* because the subsequent passage states several times that Malchus is giving himself to both action and contemplation. There are several other instances, notably II, 23 and 215; III, 522; IV, 46, 414, 460, and 520, where the suggested rendition is clumsy and the interpretation questionable.

A lamentable lack of sympathy with the mediaeval mind is manifested in the Introduction where the editor describes the *Vita S. Malchi* as "an unconsciously vivid and thorough analysis of the psychological distortion apparent in connection with the monastic ideal of the Middle Ages." After pointing out the bad taste of Reginald in embellishing the simple narrative of Jerome with mythological and hagiographical elements of various kinds, the editor attempts to draw serious conclusions regarding mediaeval monasticism as if he were dealing with a reliable historical document. It is difficult, or rather impossible, to understand the parallel which the editor sees between the theme of the *Vita S. Malchi* and the "terrible repression, the pathological unbalance which are to be found on another and higher plane in the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine." The *Vita* is a badly embel-

lished treatment of a conventional theme; the *Confessions* depict the actual struggle of an ardent and highly gifted mind in a moral crisis. It is strange that the editor considers the *Vita* "invaluable" because of the "light it throws upon those particular human torments with which we are so familiar in religious literature from the time of Saint Paul to that of Santa Teresa de Jesús." To one familiar with mediaeval hagiography there is little enlightenment in Reginald's lengthy elaboration of Jerome's brief passage in which Malchus prefers loss of life to deprivation of chastity. As for the "particular human torments" why does the editor start with St. Paul and stop with St. Teresa? Struggle over a moral issue is to be found in the ancient classics as well as in contemporary literature. It is as old and as new as the human race.

The type and general arrangement of the edition are very satisfactory. Especially helpful is the insertion of the related passages from Jerome's work between the text and the *apparatus criticus*. Although the shorter redaction of the *Vita* (M) is printed *in extenso* at the end of the longer text, it would serve reader convenience to have inserted its variants in the *apparatus criticus*. The editor identifies many of Reginald's sources, to which may be added Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 468-474, as the source of III, 133-140; Ovid *Metamorphoses*, I, 333-338 for IV, 206-214. There are a few typographical errors, and some minor inconsistencies in the citation of references in the footnotes to the Introduction.

SISTER PATRICK JEROME MULLINS

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The Parliamentary Abbots to 1470: A Study in English Constitutional History. By SISTER ALOYSE MARIE REICH, S.N.D. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 265-401. $1.50.)

Why were abbots originally invited to attend sessions of the mediaeval English Parliament? The usual explanation, given by constitutional historians, is that they were tenants-in-chief holding their lands by military service; another hypothesis is that special training fitted them for the office of advisers to the king. In a scholarly study, based upon a careful examination of available printed sources, Sister Aloyse Marie proves that neither of these reasons is valid. Although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, twenty-four abbeys owed knight service, only about half of them were regular recipients of writs of summons to Parliament, whereas one hundred abbeys, held in frankalmoin, were frequently and some even regularly summoned. Previous to the reign of Edward III, when the number of abbots and priors receiving such writs was, with some notable ex-

ceptions, finally set at twenty-six (twenty-seven from the time of Richard II), the superiors of all religious Orders and of almost all religious houses had been invited to Parliament on one or more occasions. As in the case of the lay barons, the king chose those whom he wished from among the abbots, irrespective of kinds of tenure, his chief purpose almost always being to obtain a generous subsidy. Gradually a majority of the clergy began to prefer to deal with this matter in convocation, and after 1341 it became an admitted principle that the heads of ecclesiastical establishments, not held by barony, were exempt from attendance at Parliament as well as from the taxes agreed upon by the churchmen there assembled. If it must be admitted that abbots were better educated than lay nobles, it is also certain that the studies for the priesthood and the training of the novitiate did not especially fit them for statecraft. Other factors undoubtedly entered into their selection as advisers to the king; of these the most significant, strangely enough, appear to have been particular friendliness to the monarch and the willingness or, at least, the ability to be of financial assistance. Although the author rightly stresses the feudal character of the mediaeval English government, she has placed an undue emphasis upon the oath of fealty in connection with parliamentary representation of the clerical and lay nobility.

Besides its main topic, this study contains many interesting details concerning the various religious Orders, the spiritual and administrative functions of the abbot, his relations to the bishop, the pope, and the king, together with public offices and diplomatic missions he was sometimes called upon to fulfill. Almost every important statement is substantiated by reference to documentary evidence. The Bibliography is quite comprehensive; its only defects appear to be the inclusion of a few antiquated editions of standard works, *e. g.* Bracton, Stubbs, McKechnie, and the omission of such titles as A. B. White's *Making of the English Constitution* and W. S. Holdsworth's *History of English Law*. The Latin document, cited on pages 372-373, has been left partly unintelligible by careless proof reading, and there is a misprint, *a saecula* for *a saeculo* (p. 378).

RAYMOND J. GRAY

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Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century. By ANNA T. SHEEDY. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 267. $3.25.)

Bartolus of Sassoferrato, most musically named of all the post-glossators, has long been enclosed in the preserve of students of the histories of Roman law and political theory. Those who know him only in connection with such dreary problems as *merum et mixtum imperium* will be pleasantly surprised by the rich gleanings in social history which Miss Sheedy has

gotten from his bulky legal writings. Here are chapters full of living people; chapters on the family, the city, nobles and nobility, students and doctors, the sentiment of religion, Franciscan poverty, heretics, and Jews.

The use of legal and jurisprudential sources as keys to a knowledge of contemporary social life is, of course, an established technique, which has been applied to everything from the Code of Hammurabi to the English factory laws, but its application to mediaeval studies involves a considerable problem in selection. The works of many commentators could not be submitted to this kind of analysis without risking a high degree of unreliability, because their preoccupation with the universality of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* carried them too far away from mediaeval actuality. Of all the great civilians, Bartolus was most happily adaptable to the role of witness to the social life of his time and place, because none was more indefatigable in the intricate balancing of customary law and communal statute against the letter of Justinian's compilers. For he was far less a man concerned with the philosophical profundities of law than a teacher and private counselor who kept his eye on the amenities of daily practice. Theoretically he was quite as uncritical as the general tradition of his craft about the everlasting validity of classical law, and he falls into the typically absurd strainings, e. g., that the three examinations required of the mediaeval candidate for the doctorate in law could be derived from the law in the Code granting special civic privileges to athletes only after they had won in competition at least three crowns (p. 148). Yet as a casuist he gives us probably better than anyone else a picture of the "real" Roman law as it was operative in fourteenth century Italy, that is, a great body of law substantially in force but subject to the innumerable adjustments of custom and local statute.

Bartolus, then, is a mine which, however thoroughly worked already in the interest of the history of political theory by Mr. Woolf and others, awaited the fresh explorations of Professor Sheedy in the interest of the more colorful history of social habits, and she has gone into it with scholarship as distinguished as it must have been laborious. For there must have been vast labor in sifting thousands of pages of commentaries, academic disputations, tracts, and *consilia* for the relatively scattered nuggets which were the object of her careful search. She has resolved certain difficulties from other sources, and has framed the whole project in a thorough knowledge of the background of her period and subject.

A jurisconsult's picture of society (as distinguished from that furnished by complete records of court processes) may lack one essential dimension, the quantitative indication of frequency. Miss Sheedy's careful cross-references and her generally conservative scholarship throughout the book suggest by their very excellence a question about a statement in her Preface, that "... the works of a practicing jurist and teacher of law mirror more or

less clearly the age in which he lives . . ." Perhaps that ought to be qualified by something stronger than " more or less ". But whatever the general validity of the principle, the whole book makes a very good case for a high degree of validity in the special case of Bartolus.

Throughout these chapters there are no essential contradictions of impressions otherwise current in present scholarship about the several topics of her study, but there is a stronger and clearer light upon all of them, and it exposes a lot of very valuable detail. No worker in Italian communal history can afford hereafter to reckon without this detail. And if students of a variety of social institutions in the late Middle Ages, social and economic as well as legal and political, find here as much grist for their special mills as the reviewer has found for his special interest in problems of jurisdiction, Miss Sheedy will have in her debt the cultivators of a considerable variety of mediaeval fields.

ALBERT J. LYND

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MODERN HISTORY

Men of Substance. The Study of the Thought of Two English Revolutionaries. By W. K. JORDAN. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 283. $3.00.)

Like most critical and sharply transitional periods in history England's revolution-convulsed mid-seventeenth century presents a kaleidoscopic picture which remains to this day distressingly obscure in some of its significant details. In the final volume of his widely discussed work, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, Mr. Jordan demonstrated his ability to cut a fairly clear trail through the labyrinth of violently conflicting sectarian interests which characterized this era. In the present study he singles out for closer investigation the literary works of two prominent and influential contemporaries. Unquestionably Henry Parker and Henry Robinson made substantial contributions to the flood-waters of thought which swept away the ancient structure of the English constitution, opened new channels of economic and social development, and modified the traditional influence of religion in the nation. But whether the reader will agree that they merit the encomium of " men of substance ", will depend largely upon his own cultural viewpoint and philosophical convictions.

The author's brief biographical sketches reveal that the two men had much in common. Both sprang from prosperous upper middle-class families and were schooled at Oxford; they played quite distinguished roles in public life; they were bold, independent thinkers who expressed their views on political, religious, social, and economic questions in parades of hastily written, frequently anonymous pamphlets. In the field of religious thought Parker was consistently more revolutionary than his confrere. He did not

confine himself simply to a series of furious assaults upon the exclusive claims of Laudian Anglicanism and a relentless verbal bombardment of the militant Presbyterian faction which sought to impose an equally rigid and intolerant ecclesiastical system. Devoid of deep religious convictions himself and anti-clerical to the core, he maintained that the form of church government in England was a matter of complete indifference so long as it lay within the firm control of the civil state. Hence he typified the emerging rationalistic mentality which was aggressively promoting the growth of a malignant totalitarian secularism. Robinson's writings betray a more liberal cast of mind. While dealing savagely with Presbyterian intolerance, he "vehemently denied that the magistrate possessed any power whatsoever in spiritual concerns and looked forward to a religious society which would be broken into fragments of opinion and doctrine when liberty of conscience were once established."

Parker stands out in the author's estimation as the most original and perhaps the most imporant political theorist of the revolutionary era. His diagnosis of the causes of the Civil War led him to the conclusion that full responsibility must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Stuarts. They had destroyed their sovereignty by bad government, he contended, and in doing so had driven the country to the brink of anarchy. His conception of sovereignty as possessing two inalienable characteristics, which Mr. Jordan labels "completeness and supremacy", foreshadowed the definitions later proposed by Hobbes. Evincing no trace of sympathy for democracy, he argued that the Commonwealth government enjoyed supreme power in the state *de jure* on the purely pragmatic ground that it had ceased to be revolutionary. Despite the fact that Robinson's pamphlets portrayed him as considerably more radical than the government of the Protectorate, he was intimately associated with it as a civil servant and as a respected adviser in economic and social matters. The proposals which he made in these fields of thought were singularly prophetic, reflecting for the most part the aspirations of a relatively small wing of a wealthy, powerful, and selfish merchant aristocracy. He wrote prolifically and persuasively to convey his conviction that the basis of government in England must be expanded and strengthened by a fusion of the landed and commercial classes. Outlines of future British developments are clearly visible in his advocacy of free trade, imperial expansion, a greatly increased maritime power to insure domination of the high seas, and the establishment of a central bank legally empowered to issue paper money as well as private bills with the validity of currency.

This volume is obviously the result of a great deal of painstaking labor in assorting and analyzing a diversity of ideas and suggestions scattered through a wide range of publications. Though the author is to be congratulated on the pattern of presentation adopted and quite consistently

followed, his book could be improved by the elimination of needless and often boring repetitions. And while his sympathetic attitude is generally commendable, it sometimes blurs the objectivity of his treatment and leads him to the use of superlatives which are scarcely merited by the subjects of his work.

CLARENCE J. RYAN

Marquette University

Victor Hugo: A Realistic Biography of the Great Romantic. By MATTHEW JOSEPHSON. (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 514. $3.50.)

Probably no Frenchman, save Napoleon, has been the subject of so vast a literature dealing with every phase of his life and influence as Victor Hugo. Despite the scholarship of many studies, such as Professor Grant's recent *Victor Hugo During the Second Republic*, a greater number have been especially biased—more often than not to Hugo's disadvantage. Mr. Josephson's purpose has been to separate the wheat from the chaff—to present an accurate and objective account of the literary and public careers, and in so doing to " rehabilitate ", as he admits, the character of " the great romantic." To achieve this he has made what he terms a " realistic " approach; this amounts to little more than an unwillingness to be shocked at Hugo's confessions—as was Louis Barthou—an application of some of the hypotheses of modern psychiatry to Hugo's life, and a search for those motives of action which the documents alone do not reveal. Much less than a definitive biography, this volume adds really nothing to what is already truly known.

Divided into two parts, entitled The Artist and The Public Man, the biography is concerned throughout with the problem of the relation of the artist to society, one with which the author has dealt in other studies. Prior to 1848, when his public career really commenced, Hugo had manifested first a distinct sympathy for royalism and then for Bonapartism. Although this transition was partly attributable to a general tendency among the romanticists to desert the Bourbons in the late twenties, Mr. Josephson considers it also a reflection of Hugo's earlier attachment to his mother—estranged from her Bonapartist husband and bearing a hatred for the regime that had executed her paramour—and to his subsequent reconciliation with his father. In this early period Victor also began to give evidence of a deep social humanitarianism, which he sought to arouse in others through his writings, and the realization of which he eventually became convinced a democratic republic could achieve. In 1848 he labored to counteract the violence of both the Left and the Right, and for his loyalty to moderation and consistency (often denied by his detractors) he merits respect, but it is rather difficult to share the author's admiration for Hugo in

the sphere of practical politics in 1848 and even less for his attempt to rally Paris against insuperable odds in December, 1851. The main events and broad significances of his exile under the Empire, which involved a measurable sacrifice, are brilliantly described, but they leave the reader with the impression that he prospered in his adversity, developed a most exaggerated notion of his own heroism, and suffered most of all from a persecution complex. The volume is a bit disappointing in its failure to develop at fuller length Hugo's public role under the Third Republic.

For a man who exercised himself on so many occasions in behalf of what he considered great causes of humanity, such as appealing to the United States in behalf of John Brown and to Great Britain in behalf of a murderer in Guernsey (he abhorred capital punishment), Hugo failed to manifest a very great measure of moral fortitude in his private life. Although the author presents the facts from which the above conclusion is drawn, he himself would hardly concur in it. Instead, he stresses, to mollify the judgment of earlier biographers, certain Hugolian virtues such as attachment to his family and his mistress, his concern for her child by another, and his relations with Sainte-Beuve. The treatment of this latter personage is, incidentally, excellent both in its scholarship and interpretation.

On repeated occasions the author attempts to give his volume a tone of contemporaneity by making jibes at regimes with which Hugo came into conflict and pointing out lessons for the present. One very good one that he missed is that we are beset today with all too many prophets, who in their enthusiasm for what they call glibly "democracy," "humanity," etc., are the victims of the very same thing that Hugo was, not only in his private life but his public as well—of his own literature, of romanticism, of the view that passion was holy. Edmond Biré's bitter estimate of Hugo was, it is undeniable, overdone, but it is difficult for us to believe, even after reading Mr. Josephson's, that his hero was not an enemy of certain norms unceasingly necessary in a good society.

There are a few errors which detract nothing from the chief merits of the biography: it is hardly true that "renewed war was expected at any moment" in September, 1803 (p. 18); Guizot was not Prime Minister in 1838 (p. 226); Louis XVII instead of Louis XVIII (p. 14) is simply typographical; the Roman Republic was certainly not as popular as Mr. Josephson believes (p. 297), and to say that "all the world outside condemned the French army's occupation of Rome" (p. 302) is a bit rhetorical. Despite the excellence of the Appendix Notes it is regrettable that there were not included in the text more frequent references to sources of information.

A. Paul Levack

Fordham University

Prince Lichnowsky, Ambassador of Peace: A Study of Pre-War Diplomacy, 1912-1914. By EDWARD F. WILLIS. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 318. $2.75.)

The role of Prince Lichnowsky in pre-1914 European diplomacy has previously been treated only in the *ex parte* discussions by Lichnowsky himself—*My Mission to London, 1912-1914*, and *Heading for the Abyss*. Dr. Willis gives a somewhat more objective evaluation of Lichnowsky's career as a diplomatist.

Basically, the picture is not much altered. The author traces Lichnowsky's family history to explain his anti-Austrian attitude. Coming to London in 1912 (without the complete confidence of his own foreign office), Lichnowsky strove unsuccessfully to foster better relations with Great Britain. The Conference of Ambassadors, operating during the Balkan Wars, marked a high point in the personal relations between Lichnowsky and Sir Edward Grey. But, even then, the bad feeling between Lichnowsky and the German Foreign Office, the suspicions of Kiderlen and von Stumm (whom Kiderlen hoped to make Lichnowsky's successor), the ostrich-minded refusal of Berlin to credit Lichnowsky's estimates of the state of British sentiment—worked to undermine the Ambassador's effectiveness. Dr. Willis feels that Grey's evasive (if not downright misleading) answers to Lichnowsky on the existence of an Anglo-Russian naval agreement early in July, 1914, created distrust of Grey in Berlin; this distrust, added to the lack of confidence in Lichnowsky, caused the rejection of Grey's mediation proposal, in the Austro-Serbian crisis that led to the outbreak of World War I.

Dr. Willis makes full use of the documentary evidence to make out a good case for Lichnowsky. One feels that, at times, he fails to see the weaknesses of Lichnowsky as a diplomat out of admiration of Lichnowsky as a man. One slip might be noted—a reference to the "Morocco Crisis of 1904" (p. 33). No bibliography is appended. The practice of putting footnotes at the end of each chapter should be outlawed, along with other barbarous customs. But, with all that said, the volume gives a good account of the vagaries of German diplomacy just before the cataclysm of 1914.

FRANCIS A. ARLINGHAUS

University of Detroit

AMERICAN HISTORY

Rebels and Gentlemen or Philadelphia in the Age of Benjamin Franklin. By CARL and JESSICA BRIDENBAUGH. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1942. Pp. xvii, 393. $3.50.)

This history of the cultural conditions of Philadelphia and surroundings from 1740 to 1775 is divided into ten chapters. It was a happy thought to

undertake the description of the cultural preparation for the Revolution in the City of Brotherly Love which prided itself as a " second London " in America.

The authors divided the subject into three main parts: literature, art, and science. At first the reader may be surprised that the most notable figure in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, is mentioned so little, although owing to his prominence the French call that period " L'Age d'Or de Pennsylvanie " and his name appears on the title page of the book. In the last chapter the authors give an explanation for this apparent omission with these words: " Franklin had lived in Philadelphia for only fifteen of the thirty-five years chronicled in these pages."

After the description of the commercial condition of the city as the basis for its cultural life among the well-to-do gentlemen, the authors picture first the literary activities of the Quaker City. This centered especially in the contest between the old and the new school of education during that Age of Enlightment. Education still adhered much to the old methods and to religious prejudices. Thus when £ 15000 were raised by subscription and with a substantial gift of the city corporation, to found an academy, one of the reasons for such an institution was given: " to supply the need of teachers in rural areas to replace vicious Servants and concealed Papists " (p. 43). This Academy had its best period under Francis Allison, a Presbyterian minister, who was described by Franklin as " a person of great ingenuity and learning, a catholic Divine, and what is more an Honest Man." This was a rather unique way of using the word " catholic " in such a combination.

The " rebel tendency " likewise showed progress in the field of art, when " Presbyterian scruples broke down before the sweet attractions of harmony " (p. 155). How this was effected through travels in Italy is summed up in these words: " In the contemplation of the relics of the ancient world or of the works of Raphael and Titian young men forgot their Protestant prejudices and opened their minds to both the pagan and the Catholic " (p. 213). In this spirit " the first notable art collection in Pennsylvania was assembled by James Hamilton for his estate at Bush Hill. It began in the forties with the acquisition of a " St. Ignatius " by Murillo ... In 1745 he also acquired two fine historical tableaux by Richard of Paris, one representing " the Atonement " and the other the " Elevation of Proserpine " (p. 213). The result of this tendency is given in these words: " It speaks much for the broadening effects of cosmopolitan influences and foreign travel upon the cultural life of Pre-revolutionary Philadelphia, that a young Quakeress of twenty could voice appreciative criticism of a piece of Roman Catholic art seen in the home of an Anglican gentleman " (p. 214). Naturally the artistic career of B. West, whom Philadelphians regard as a son, fitted well into this picture. Even the members of the modest Catholic St. Joseph's Church contributed to this spirit and the authors state:

"The Crucifixion painted by Hesselius for the Catholic Church attracted wide attention when exhibited at his shop in 1748. It greatly impressed also John Adams when he came to the Continental Congress." The latter also wrote about its music: "the Romish Chapel where the chanting was exquisitely soft and sweet and the scenery and the music were so calculated to take in mankind, that I wondered the Reformation even succeeded" (p. 148).

The third part "Love of Science" was well put last. The writers emphasize the practical mind of the Philadelphians in comparison with the more theoretical disposition of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, notably in France. This showed itself in advancements made during that time in America and specially in Philadelphia in social work, the medical profession, and in natural sciences. The authors sum up these achievements: "Perhaps the best testimony to this accomplishment was that of an immigrant of 1775. Writing in the Pennsylvania Magazine, Tom Paine, dwelt with enthusiastic delight on this country whose reigning character is the love of science. He clearly perceived what was beginning to dawn in the understanding of Philadelphians themselves that America has now outgrown the state of infancy: her strength and commerce made large advances to manhood, and science in all its branches, has not only blossomed but even ripened upon her soil" (p. 358).

The book is a valuable contribution to the history of colonial Pennsylvania. A few flaws have been overlooked by the proof-readers: Braddock's campaign began in spring 1755, not 1754, and Voltaire is frequently called the sage of "Ferney", not Verney.

FELIX FELLNER

St. Vincent's College

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and Edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Ph.D. Volume X, *The Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. xi, 948. $2.00.)

This is the first of three volumes of the Territorial Papers of the United States dealing with Michigan Territory. It comprises selected papers mainly from the Department of State, the War Department, the Office of Indian Affairs, and the United States Senate. Other files are drawn upon to some extent. Most of these papers have not before been published. The editorial work is of that high quality which Dr. Carter has shown in the previous nine volumes. In the main, the papers are arranged chronologically, enclosures being generally placed with the letters to which they belong. The editor has not attempted to interpret the materials, but has used footnotes adequately to cite additional relevant matter.

Dr. Carter has divided the text into Parts corresponding to administrations of territorial government, excepting the first Part which is introduc-

tory, and which is not extensive, since previous volumes of the series (II, III, VII, VIII) dealing with the Northwest Territory, constitute the real introduction. Part I deals with the founding of Michigan Territory, 1803-1805, and covers but nineteen pages. Part II covers nearly two hundred pages, being papers relating to the first administration of Governor William Hull, 1805-1808. These were critical years following the great fire which wiped out Detroit, the capital of the Territory. Part III deals with Hull's second administration, 1808-1811, following Michigan's story nearly to the War of 1812. The major portion of that war is covered in Parts IV and V, being Hull's third administration, and the period of British occupation, 1812-1813. In 1813 Lewis Cass became Governor of Michigan Territory and continued to be Governor until 1831 when he went to Jackson's cabinet as Secretary of War. Probably Cass did more than any other one man for the settlement of Michigan Territory, and Parts VI and VII carry that story into the year 1820. This arrangement of the papers is quite logical since the main problem of the nation in regard to Michigan, as in all the territories, was administrative in nature.

The importance of these papers from one angle is that they show the democratic process in action. In all the activities reflected in these papers the pioneers are seen putting into practice the principles of liberty and free enterprise for which the Territory provided. The numerous signed petitions in this volume, and the responses received, show that the people had a strong voice in their government. Here we see the people trying to improve social conditions by agricultural education and by wise relief of a war-stricken people.

The plan of Father Gabriel Richard, priest of Ste. Anne's at Detroit, later Territorial Delegate to Congress, drew a Federal subsidy for the education of Indian children. Many of his letters and papers relating to the plan are scattered throughout the volume, and doubtless there will be many in the succeeding volume, since Father Richard lived until 1832, dying in the cholera epidemic of that year in service to the people. His famous report on the Spring-Hill Indian School addressed to President Madison is given in full (pp. 287-291). His appointment as one of the two first professors in the embryonic University of Michigan founded at Detroit in 1817 is recorded (p. 731), "appointed to be Professor of Intellectual Sciences, also appointed to be professor of Astronomy, also appointed to be professor of Mathematics in the University of Michigania, by several commissions signed and executed by William Woodbridge, Secretary and acting Governour of Michigan." Father Richard's service in Congress in 1824 should appear in the next volume.

Certainly we shall look forward with keen anticipation for Volumes XI and XII.

GEORGE N. FULLER

Michigan Historical Commission

The Man Who Made News, James Gordon Bennett. By OLIVER CARLSON. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. Pp. xi, 440. $3.50.)

This is the story, interesting, journalistic in form and style, of James Gordon Bennett, Sr. (1795-1872), one of America's greatest newspaper men even in that galaxy of such competitive stars as Bryant, Greeley, Dana, Weed, Hallock, and Beach of the New York press. Isaac Pray and Don Seitz (1855, 1928) wrote Bennett down, but Mr. Carlson offers the first interpretative study of this incomprehensible person of contrasts who for two generations was the most hated and feared figure in New York—canny in business, lacking in sense of honor and honesty, sneering at opponents, hostile to churchmen, mendacious, mercurial, immune to abuse or commendation, bold in ventures, cowardly in person, cynical, reckless in libel, moral in his domestic life, bitter and colloquial in his writings, lonely in crowded New York, generous in charities, unsocial, informed beyond most of his contemporaries, ruggedly individualistic, acquisitive, and self-centered. Such a man was not easy to portray especially on the basis of printed works, the press, and his own *Herald* whose news accounts were often at odds with its editorial opinion, but this author with popular biographies of Brisbane and Hearst (written in collaboration with the reviewer's old friend, Sutherland Bates, 1879-1939) to his credit, was adequately prepared to study Bennett, a forerunner in the modernized journalism of Pulitzer and Hearst.

Born near Keith, Banffshire, so largely owned by the Earl of Fife, into a militant Catholic, small-farmer family, Bennett was educated at a kirk-school and at Blair's College, Aberdeen, where he gave up thoughts of the priesthood, read widely in French and Scottish literature, and acquired permanent anti-English prejudices not unusual in his Scotland of bitter Presbyterianism, grinding poverty, enclosures, and emigration. He became quite hostile to religion as this author says, somewhat illiberally, he "never missed a chance to draw a bead on the Church of his forefathers for its bigotry, intolerance, and interference with secular affairs." An emigrant to Halifax in 1819, he found his way to Boston where he obtained work with a bookseller and made full use of his opportunities to hear Story, Tichnor, Channing, Parker, Adams, Webster, and Bowditch. Moving down to New York he accepted service on the *Charleston Courier*, whose editor was looking for supplies and a reporter. In Charleston, he became a disciple of Calhoun and no enemy to states rights or to slavery.

Back in New York within a year, he joined Tammany, concerning whose origins the author seems doubtful, became a violent Jacksonite, and got a job on Mordecai Noah's *Morning Enquirer*, soon by merger the *Courier and Enquirer*. From Noah, he learned the inwards of New York politics —which John Adams described as the devil's incomprehensibles—more about the news business, and little about integrity. A thrifty Scot, he would set-up for himself, which he did with three failures, *The Sunday*

Courier, The Globe, and the *Philadelphia Pennsylvanian* for whose insolvency he blamed Biddle's bank crowd. Then with $500 he started the New York *Herald* in 1835 and gave his life, even his soul, to develop it into the most widely circulated paper in the United States.

Bennett made the *Herald* an organ of news rather than of opinion, lively, sensational, and rather salacious. He knew what the populace wanted to read, and he brought the paper down to their intellectual, moral level. He revolutionized news-gathering and news-printing; as Dana reminiscently said of his old enemy, he "emancipated the press from sects, parties, cliques, and what is called society". Running attacks on politicians, the local machine, the Catholic bishops, Protestant churchmen, and Wall Street, always in the guise of reform and democracy, he won readers, though in the earlier days gentle people were ashamed to be caught reading the *Herald*. But he gave the news: he was the first to stress advertising of any kind; he was the first to demand prepayment for ads on the basis of circulation; the man who more than anyone else forced court rooms to open their doors to the press; he gave full police news; he featured the stock market and financial essays; he had the fastest pilot boats to meet incoming steamers and thus scoop European news. Before the telegraph he ran a pony express to Washington; he was the chief promoter of the Associated Press; he obtained the terms of treaty with Mexico before the administration was ready to give them out; he paid any price and used any means to obtain the news. No New York editor had as many correspondents in foreign capitals.

Bitter as his personal attacks were on Bishops Dubois and Hughes, he was married at St. Peter's Church to a music teacher, Henrietta Crean of Dublin. His enemy editors attacked her ferociously, especially Noah, his early employer, and Beach of the *Sun*, who was fined only $250 for doubting in print the legitimacy of James Gordon Bennett, Jr. As a result the Bennetts never broke into society, and Mrs. Bennett lived most of her years abroad. After the war when Bennett had turned over the publisher's chair to his son, he mellowed to some extent on his summer estate at Fort Washington and gave a site and a respectable donation to Monsignor Henry Brann for his new church. A few days before he died he summoned Archbishop McCloskey, who prepared him for death. Bennett died amid his associates, including his editor, Frederick Hudson, best known for his history of American journalism.

James Gordon Bennett, Jr. (d. 1918) continued the *Herald*, which his estate sold in 1920 to Frank Munsey for some four million dollars. The elder Bennett was a sharp businessman, a great reporter, and a remarkable publisher, whatever else might be said of him and his dubious methods. Mr. Carlson has written a worthy volume with some historical slips and extraneous material such as the slim sketch of Scotland during the Napoleonic Era in the Appendix which might be dehydrated to save ship burden.

Catholic University of America RICHARD J. PURCELL

The Montana Frontier. By MERRILL G. BURLINGAME. (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 418. $2.50.)

This is definitely a book for the general reader, for whom will be found herein a brief history of the Montana region as well as many references to lead him to further study. The work is not based on manuscript material (and does not pretend to be), though it does make an extensive use of printed journals and reports. In fact, in the use of magazine articles it is admirable, and the reviewer noticed only one or two omissions of note, viz., James O'Connor, "The Flathead Indians", in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* III (1883-1891), 85-110, and Henry J. Van Rensselaer, "The Catholic Church in Montana", in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XII (1887), 492 ff.

The book begins with a very brief account of the earliest explorers in Montana in the first chapter. Ten subsequent chapters are taken up with frontier history: Montana Indians, the fur trade, mining, government policies and their effects, the army, Indian wars, the "The Disappearing Military-Indian Frontier". Four concluding chapters on the cattlemen, religion, cultural progress, and agriculture complete the volume.

The chapter on religious influences on the frontier is exceedingly brief, and not always accurate. The spurious speech of one of the Indians of the 1831 delegation is repeated (p. 292); this is unfortunate. Nor is it quite accurate to say that DeSmet "obtained the permission of the bishop (of St. Louis) to go to their country in the *following* year" (p. 294). DeSmet did not reach St. Louis from the Potawatomi Mission at Council Bluffs until February, 1840—the year of his journey; also he was sent on this journey. He did not meet de Velder until he reached the Green River rendezvous and he did not leave on August 27 from the Gallatin Valley, but from that of the Jefferson. DeSmet's ecclesiastical superiors are referred to as "superior officers" (p. 295). The location of the mission to the Kalispels, opened by Father A. Hoecken in 1844, is erroneously stated to have been "on Pend Oreille Lake"; it was on the Clark's Fork, within a few miles of present Newport, Washington.

Altogether too little is said of the success of the Indian school at St. Ignatius Mission, which was opened by the Sisters of Providence in 1864; and practically no credit is given to the Jesuit Fathers for their training of the Indians in the manual arts. No mention is made of the introduction of the printing press at the same Mission in 1874, nor of the books and pamphlets printed there. The services of Father Hoecken to Gov. I. I. Stevens at the Indian councils of 1855, both among the Blackfoot and the Flatheads, are not noted. Nor does the name of Father Frederick Eberschweiler, S.J., the apostle of the Havre country, appear in the narrative. Possibly the Catholics are themselves to blame for these omissions, since their publications on their own history in Montana are indeed meagre.

Dr. Burlingame has written an excellent introductory history of his state. Footnotes and Bibliography are carefully prepared. Within its limitations it is an excellent regional survey of the early history of the area which is now known as Montana.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Gonzaga University

The Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920. By WILFRIL HARDY CALLCOTT. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 524. $3.50.)

This is the latest volume of the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History, and it well upholds the high traditions established by most, if not all, of the preceding volumes in the series. In nine excellent chapters, the author has exhaustively dealt with our attitude toward the Caribbean in the period 1890-1920, and has also provided an adequate background for his more intensive treatment.

The volume seems to be definitely the result of unbiased study. All pertinent arguments on controversial matters are presented. Admittedly, no effort is made to analyze completely all ramifications of various developments in the period, such as our acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone. No effort is made to distort facts; no prejudice for or against the United States is in evidence. Some of the facts presented are humiliating and embarrassing, but that is not the fault of the author. No strained interpretations are given, the author presenting his inferences and conclusions only when the documentary material seems to demand such statements in the interest of completeness.

The book is not merely a compilation of well-known material. Much that is new, and drawn from the manuscript collections of such men as Bunau-Varilla, Gresham, Root, Taft, House, Lansing, and Wilson, is presented. Government documents have been drawn on heavily and with excellent results; likewise, collected works, biographies, and secondary works have been generously used, but with discretion. In general, the book maintains that our attitude toward the Caribbean from 1890 to 1920 was based on our belief that a goodly degree of control over the area seemed necessary to us for our own protection, and that after 1920 we extended this same supervisory attitude over the entire southern hemisphere. Actually, it did not often degenerate into a desire to dominate politically a given area, but at times a rather naked thrust of imperialism did manifest itself. The detailed treatment of this imperialism as it showed itself about 1898 is particularly good. We cannot but wish that some of the remarks made by our political leaders had been left unsaid. For example, the author writes, relative to this period, "The imperialists knew what they wanted: all they could get. On his way to Cuba, Rough Rider Theodore Roosevelt (Ex-Secretary of the Navy, it will be remembered) had written to Senator Lodge, June 12, 1898:

'You must get Manila and Hawaii, you must prevent any talk of peace until we get Porto Rico and the Philippines as well as secure the independence of Cuba'" (p. 103). And later, when Hay had discussed with and recommended to McKinley the Open Door Policy, the President replied, "I don't know about that. May we not want a slice, if it is to be divided?" (p. 109). The accent placed on brute force, particularly in our relations with Spain in 1898-1899, can afford us at present only feelings of shame and regret. Ample documentation and a very detailed Index increase the usefulness of this outstanding contribution to diplomatic history.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University
Chicago

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682. Introduction and Annotations by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT, Ph.D., Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas. Translations of Original Documents by CHARMION CLAIR SHELBY, Ph.D. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1942. Two Parts. Pp. ccx, 262; xii, 430. $10.00.)

So far as known and available records go together with a scholarly use of them, the history of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico need not be written again. Professor Hackett performed this task in the three exhaustive studies which he published thirty years ago (two in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and one in *Old Santa Fé*) and which he reedits in the present work as a general Introduction (pp. xix-ccx) to the voluminous documentation, translated under his direction by Dr. Shelby and richly annotated by him with cross-references and incidental details.

The general Introduction relates how in August, 1680, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico rose in rebellion against Spanish rule with its inherent Christian way of life, how those Spaniards who succeeded in escaping the general massacre established a settlement at El Paso, Texas, and how from here the Spanish Governor Otermín attempted to reclaim New Mexico and rescue its misguided and terrorized natives from the clutches of the rebellious and domineering native minority under the leadership of Popé and his few associates.

In view of the steps recently taken in an official way for the beatification of priests and missionaries in the United States, a word might be inserted here on the causes and the character of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 as presented by Professor Hackett in his authoritative studies. The tragic event cost the lives of twenty-one Franciscan missionaries and nearly four hundred Spanish settlers—men, women, and children—including a number of native Indians who refused to join the uprising. As Professor Hackett points out,

the chief underlying causes of the outbreak were "the efforts of the Spaniards to suppress not only the religious beliefs but also the ancient habits and customs of the Indians in other respects, and to make them conform to European methods of living..." (p. xxii). Superstitious practices and obscene observances—devil-worship, in short, with its varied moral depravities—had to be eradicated wherever and whenever found. The Christian faith, once embraced by the natives, with its high moral code had to be enforced after its acceptance through baptism and protected against the evil influences and activities of natives not yet baptized. This was the duty of the Spaniards, notably of the friars, and this not only the pagan natives but also some of their Christian tribesmen resented.

The Pueblo Revolt was, therefore, basically the bloody climax of an eighty-year-old struggle between Christianity and paganism, in the study of which it must not be overlooked that, as documents clearly show, many Christian Spaniards in the course of years conducted themselves like pagans, thereby scandalizing the native converts and driving them more and more into the ranks of rebellious fellow natives, Christian as well as pagan, who chafed as much under the restrains that Christianity put on their lower appetites as under the yoke of the Spanish civil rule. Briefly, hatred of things Christian, as was clearly manifested in the conduct of the revolt, actuated and guided the conspirators. Wherefore the friars who were murdered during the revolt and undoubtedly also some of the slain Spanish lay settlers with their Indian servants might well be regarded as martyrs of the faith in the strict sense of the term and officially venerated as such by the Church. Whatever the final decision of the Church may be, during the severe investigation that must precede it, Professor Hackett's close and scholarly study will have to be one of the sources of information on what actually occurred in August, 1680.

As to the translation of the documents, prepared by Dr. Shelby, suffice it to say that it is a notable achievement, especially if we remember that the original text of Spanish documents of this kind are frequently very difficult to render into English. The translation being the combined work of two recognized scholars, its correctness and accuracy can be depended upon by those who would use them for future studies of the Pueblo Revolt.

The general make-up of the two volumes leaves nothing to be desired. They form Volumes VIII and IX of the Coronado Cuarto-Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, and, like the others of the series so far published, are beautifully printed and handsomely bound. To Professor George P. Hammond of the University of New Mexico, who is editing the Coronado Series, and to Professor Hackett and Dr. Shelby, co-authors of this latest addition to the series, students of Spanish American history owe a debt of gratitude. The present reviewer does not hesitate to recommend the work to all who seek a well-told and authoritative account of one of the most stirring events of our history.

Catholic University of America FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

Men of Mexico. By JAMES A. MAGNER. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. 614. $4.00.)

In this biographical approach to Mexican history, Father Magner has written sketches of seventeen men who have left impressions, some deeper than others, on the history of their country. These men are: Emperor Montezuma II, Hernando Cortés, Bishop Las Casas, Archbishop Zumárraga, Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, Viceroy Mendoza, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo II, Father Hidalgo, Father Morelos, Emperor Iturbide, President Santa Anna, President Juárez, Emperor Maximilian, and Presidents Díaz, Carranza, Calles, and Cárdenas. Pictures of each of these men are included at the front of the book. There is an adequate Index but no Bibliography, references to sources being confined to occasional notes at the bottom of the text.

The general impression made by the volume is good. It is not too easy to find biographical material on these men if one reads only English, and it is probable that only Cortés, Maximilian, and Díaz have ever had more than one book in English published about them. Therefore, libraries of all types should have this book for quick and ready reference.

Father Magner's approach is generally objective. He does not seek to hide the abuses of Spanish power in Mexico, but he follows the modern trend that shows the balance of historical judgment inclined in favor of Spain's great contributions to her favorite colony, whereas the older historians favored the "Black Legend" theory and overlooked almost all that was good in Spanish rule. In his nineteenth-century material, the author stresses the importance of anti-clerical Masonry, of rampant and intolerant Liberalism (as Mexican politicians of the 1810-1876 period understood it), and points out what all unbiased investigators have discovered—that the so-called reform laws, directed against the Church, resulted in the degradation of the Mexican field worker and the stifling of trade unionism with the consequent explosion in the revolution of 1910.

The reviewer believes that Father Magner has been eminently fair in his judgments of Carranza, Calles, and Cárdenas. All three are difficult to place in their proper niche in Mexican history because two of them are still alive and in all cases the greater part of the material needed to document the inner workings of their administrations is not yet available to historical investigators. Perhaps the best commentary on their work—and the best criticism of it—is to be found in the administrative and legislative acts of the Camacho government, in power since 1940 and to which Father Magner makes brief reference in his Epilogue.

It is almost impossible to write so long a book and treat even briefly the lives of seventeen men without incurring the risk of numerous errors. Apart from a number of misspelled and misaccented words, some of them rather important, the reviewer calls attention to the following slips. Cortés

did not burn his ships as stated. They were sunk (p. 34). In a number of places friars are called "monks" (pp. 63, 72, 93, 95, 137). Las Casas is made to say the first Mass in the New World instead of the first *first* Mass (p. 63). The Franciscans are reported as arriving in 1524 without any reference being made to the arrival of Gante and his companions in 1523 (p. 136). The number of viceroys is given as 70 instead of 63 (p. 173). The *colegio* of San Pedro y San Pablo is said to have been founded in 1618 instead of 1573 (p. 195). It is claimed that Mexican governments "exiled bishops" during the 1821-1830 period when none was so exiled (p. 314). Archbishop Fonte left Mexico of his own accord after Iturbide was crowned, and Bishop Pérez Suárez of Oaxaca did likewise in 1827. The same page gives the impression that Masonry was not condemned before 1825, though there were papal declarations against it in 1738, 1751, and 1821, all of which were known in Mexico. Salanueva, tutor of Juárez, was a third order member, not a friar (p. 352). There is no mention of the "Ley Iglesias," quite as important as the Leyes Lerdo and Juárez (p. 366). There is repeated a story accusing the United States Minister Forsyth of burying stolen church silver in the Legation (p. 375). To the reviewer's knowledge, no conclusive proof of this story has ever been presented. Lerdo de Tejada died a natural death and was not assassinated as stated (p. 382).

A last word should be said about the Bibliography. Since there is none furnished at the back of the book and since references are committed to occasional footnotes, it is difficult to tell whether or not certain extremely important works were consulted at all. The reviewer missed references to such fundamental studies as Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*, Callcott, *Church and State in Mexico, 1820-1857* and *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857-1928*, Justin Smith, *The War with Mexico* and *The Annexation of Texas*, Planchett, *El Robo de los Bienes de la Iglesia*, Garcia Gutiérrez, *Regio Patronato Indiano*, Cambre, *La Guerra de Tres Años* and Corti, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico*. These and other references would have served to strengthen weak spots while adding formidable evidence to that gathered by the author from the sources cited by him.

PAUL V. MURRAY

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

A regional meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held for the New York area on May 8 at the Hotel Commodore. There will be a morning, luncheon, and afternoon session. All arrangements for the meeting are being made by the co-chairmen, the Reverend Thomas J. McMahon of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, and Professor James M. Eagan of the College of New Rochelle.

It is hoped that the Executive Office of the Association will have some definite information for our membership on the possibilities of a Christmas meeting in time for a preliminary announcement in the July issue of the REVIEW.

Students interested in the history of the Church in the United States will be glad to learn that there has recently been opened in the Mullen Memorial Library of the Catholic University of America an American Church History Room. The room contains at present a collection of books, pamphlets, and periodicals to the number of about one thousand items as well as pictures of some of the leading figures in the history of the American Church and several scrap books of value. It is hoped that as the collection grows it may serve the purpose of a combined seminar room for students working in this field and a depository for materials which are given from time to time by collectors to the University Library. The custodian of the American Church History Room will welcome any additions by way of source materials, books, manuscripts, pictures, or scrap books which interested persons may wish to donate to the collection. The collection has already been notably enriched by gifts of books from Fathers Jules A. Baisnée, S.S., and Cornelius J. Kirkfleet, O. Praem.

Fordham University has been given a collection of 127 items of original letters, books, and records dealing with the period of the American Revolution and the early years of the Federal era. It is to be known as the Charles Allen Munn Collection in honor of the original collector. The manuscripts contain several autographed letters of Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and Hancock and thirty-five original studies and sketches of the famous painter, Colonel John Trumbull. The collection was formally accepted by President Robert I. Gannon, S.J., at a ceremony on March 6 in the Duane Library on the Fordham campus at which the main address, "Americanism in Our Revolutionary Era", was delivered by Evarts B. Greene, professor emeritus of history in Columbia University.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Alfred B. Cadley, daughter of the late Thomas F. Meehan, the American Irish Historical Society has come into the possession of a considerable quantity of original papers, correspondence, pamphlets, and records of the revolutionary Fenian Brotherhood, active in the United States around the time of the Civil War and later. Previous attempts to locate the sources of this movement ended in failure, partly because the Fenians were a secret society and conducted their activities in constant fear of apprehension and were at pains to keep their records under cover. It would appear that Patrick J. Meehan, father of the historian, and for a time editor of the *Irish American*, was a leader of the Fenians and gave a good share of these documents into the hands of his son. Just why Thomas F. Meehan should have withheld these sources during his lifetime is not clear; perhaps he had the intention of writing the history of the Fenian Brotherhood himself. The American Irish Historical Society now possesses a collection of sources on this subject which will render possible the task of the historian who has a mind to describe the abortive efforts of Irishmen in the United States some eighty years ago to advance the founding of an Irish republic.

The National Archives announced in its Notes issued on February 1 that nearly three times as many records were accessioned last year as in any previous year. This was due largely to the pressure for more space in government buildings. Among the recent accessions are the consular and diplomatic notes, despatches, and instructions from the State Department for the years 1906-1910. The President has given to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park additional material covering the period of his earlier political career, around 1914. Moreover he has deposited in the Library a valuable collection of the Roosevelt family papers dating back to Jacobus Roosevelt in 1715.

The January, 1943, issue of *The American Archivist* contains the presidential address of Professor R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina delivered before the Society of American Archivists at the sixth annual meeting in Richmond on October 26, 1942. For a quick survey of the first years of The National Archives from Professor Connor's appointment as Archivist in October, 1934, to his retirement in 1942, it offers the reader a good review of the beginnings of this young but important federal institution. What might have been merely dry information is enlivened by Mr. Connor's wit. The issue likewise contains in its News Notes data on recent acquisitions in The National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Roosevelt Hyde Park Library as well as news from state archival centers.

Miscellaneous Processed Document 43-9 of The National Archives contains four papers read at the sixth annual meeting of the Society of Ameri-

can Archivists in Richmond on October 26, 1942. They all relate to the serious problems created by the vast accumulation of valuable federal office records outside the capital city. Oliver W. Holmes' paper on "Planning a Permanent Program for Federal Records in the States" gives concrete suggestions about handling these materials. The other three papers are written from the state and regional viewpoint concerning the interest which the states should have in these records and the need for regional depositories for federal records. The entire discussion is one of interest to local archivists and historians. With the growth of the federal records as time goes on the problems thus created will force a definite system for the care of these documents of the Federal Government which find their way outside the city of Washington. Records Administration Circular No. 2 contains four other papers read at the Richmond meeting. The authors, Philip C. Brooks, Willard F. McCormick, Robert H. Bahmer, and Harry Venneman, deal with current aspects of records administration.

Under the auspices of the American Association of Research Libraries, Edwards Brothers of Ann Arbor, Michigan, have begun to issue *A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards*. The *Catalog* is a lithoprint reproduction of the familiar Library of Congress printed cards, reduced in scale so that there are three columns of eight entries each. It is estimated that the *Catalog* will be completed in about 160 volumes within three years, and will consist of nearly 2,000,000 titles. Since many of the entries included were supplied by libraries other than the Library of Congress, in this limited aspect the *Catalog* serves as an inter-library loan finding list.

The *Catalog* now makes available to research workers the immense bibliographical information to be found on the Library of Congress printed card. In addition to listing books, the *Catalog* makes available other listings of titles which could be found only with great difficulty. Thus it will now be relatively easy to locate, for example, the authors of articles to be found in the publications of great national academies, articles in the Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and similar publications of interest to historians.

The *Catalog* contains the titles issued to July 31, 1942, but supplements may be issued to cover the new acquisitions at the Library of Congress. The approximate cost to subscribers will be $750. It is to be hoped that sets will be widely scattered through the country.

On March 2 the annual general meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held in the American Irish Historical Society building, 991 Fifth Avenue, New York City, with Auxiliary Bishop Stephen J. Donahue, D.D., presiding as representative of Archbishop Francis J. Spell-

man, D.D. The following officers were elected: Honorary President, The Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman; President, Arthur F. J. Remy, Ph.D.; Vice-President, Philip J. Furlong, Ph.D.; Treasurer, Charles H. Ridder; Corresponding Secretary, Leo R. Ryan, Ph.D.; Recording Secretary, George B. Fargis; Executive Secretary, Elizabeth P. Herbermann; Librarian-Archivist, Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.; Trustees: Arthur J. Scanlan, S.T.D., Francis X. Talbot, S.J., William T. Walsh, Ph.D., William J. Amend, Arthur Kenedy, E. J. Kern, Ph.D., Richard Reid, Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D. Councillors: Joseph C. Driscoll, John J. Falahee, Joseph H. McGuire, Sterns Cunningham, W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., Ph.D.

The annual paper was read by Father W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., of the staff of *America*, former associate professor of history at Loyola University, Chicago, on "The Church in Latin America".

The Publications Committee, of which Father Thomas J. McMahon is chairman and editor, announced the publication of the facsimile edition of *Adventures of Alonso*, the first American novel, published in 1775, and written by Thomas Atwood Digges, a Catholic and a native of Maryland. Because of its variant title page, this book belongs to rare Americana, and because of its Catholic authorship the Society deemed its reproduction a worthy contribution to American church history. Only six copies exist, and the USCHS is using the copy in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. Valuable plates have been added from the New York Public Library and Harvard copies, and a scholarly introduction is supplied by Robert H. Elias of the University of Pennsylvania.

It was also announced that the Society intends to publish volumes XXXIII and XXXIV of *Historical Records and Studies* in June and October. The second will be a memorial volume devoted to the life and work of the late Thomas F. Meehan, K.S.G., outstanding Catholic historian, late president of the Society, and editor of its publications from 1916 to his death in 1942.

The executive council of the American Irish Historical Society re-elected James McGurrin as president general and Richard J. Purcell as historiographer at their meeting in New York on March 11.

The June, 1942, issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains tributes to Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his priesthood. In the September number Elizabeth S. Kite devotes an article to "Joseph Bonaparte—Ex-King of Spain." She surveys the years of exile of this brother of Napoleon, a part of which was spent in and around Philadelphia. The other articles in these two issues of the *Records* are listed in our Periodical Literature.

On April 2 the Fifth Annual Conference on Oriental Rites and Liturgies was held in Collins Auditorium, Fordham University, New York, with

Auxiliary Bishop J. Francis A. McIntyre, D.D., presiding. The general topic was: One Bread, One Body, and the speakers were: the Reverend Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie; the Very Reverend James H. Griffiths, J.C.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Diocese of Brooklyn; the Reverend Joseph I. Ledit, S.J., of Laval University, Montreal.

A new periodical *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion*, with Johannes Quasten and Stephan Kuttner of the Catholic University of America as editors, has just been announced. It will be published annually in about 500 pages by the Cosmopolitan Science and Art Co., Inc., 638 Lexington Avenue, New York. (Subscription: per Vol. for a continuation order, $5.00; Vol. I, separate, $5.75, plus 12c postage). The new publication aims to take care of such lengthy and technical research articles as appear in the European *Beiträge* and *Sitzungsberichte*. The table of contents of the first Volume is as follows: "The Concept of 'living stone' in Classical and Christian Antiquity" by Joseph C. Plumpe; "Orientations théologiques chez saint Irénée" by Th.-André Audet, O.P.; "Byzantine Influence in the Gallican Liturgy" by Johannes Quasten; "The Oldest Latin Version Known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom" by Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B.; two articles on twelfth-century theology by Artur Landgraf; "The *Notitia Intuitiva* of Non-existing Facts according to William of Ockham" by Philotheus Böhner, O.F.M.; "Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus, A Study in the Glossators of Canon Law" by Stephan Kuttner; "Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita sancti Augustini*, the Source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine" by Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A.; "*Plena potestas* and Consent in Medieval Assemblies" by Gaines Post; "The Polish Procedure up to the Statutes of Casimir the Great" by Raphael Taubenschlag. The new publication relies upon its subscribers for its launching. The REVIEW commends *Traditio* to its own readers and wishes it every success.

Fasciculus Primus of *Medievalia et Humanistica* has just appeared. It is edited by S. Harrison Thomson with the aid of six distinguished mediaevalists. The journal is to be published occasionally, at a subscription price of $1.50. Correspondence concerning subscriptions are to be addressed to Professor Thomson at 3939 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado. The American Council of Learned Societies, the University of Washington, and the University of California subsidized the publication of the present fascicle of 142 pages. It contains seven scholarly articles as follows: "The Nilometer in the Serapeum at Alexandria" [a study of a note in Rufinus], by F. E. Engreen; "The Vulgarization of Roman Law in the Early Middle Ages as Illustrated by Successive Versions of *Pauli Sententiae*" by Ernst Levy; "*Anonymi 'Aurea Gemma'*" [a study in the *ars dictandi*] by Ernst H.

Kantorowicz; "Magnates and Community of the Realm in Parliament, 1264-1327" by William A. Morris; "*Ars Dictaminis* in the Time of Dante" by Helene Wieruszowski; "The Dedication Copy of Giovanni Dominici's *Lucula Noctis*—A Landmark in the History of the Italian Renaissance" by B. L. Ullman; "The Origins of Modern Balance-of-Power Politics" [a study of Italian states-relations in the latter half of the fifteenth century] by Ernest W. Nelson. The wide range of the articles in subject matter as well as in the periods covered will enable all mediaevalists to find matter of special interest to themselves in this first fascicle.

The perennially interesting subject of the philosophy of history has received of late two quite different treatments by Italian scholars living in the United States. In his chapter, "The Theology of History," contributed to the volume *The Interpretation of History* (Princeton University Press, 1943), George La Piana of Harvard University has written an essay which takes a position in relation to a number of fundamental religious truths that is quite untenable for the historian of Christian faith. His essay will be reviewed at a later date in this journal together with the other contributions to the symposium assembled under the editorship of Joseph R. Strayer. The second essay in this direction is that by Luigi Sturzo entitled "History," which appears in the March, 1943, issue of *Thought*, and is a chapter of Don Sturzo's forthcoming volume soon to be published by the Catholic University of America Press. Father Sturzo's article does not make easy reading, but it will repay the effort and not only provide the historian with an antidote to Professor La Piana's rationalist approach, but give a firm grounding to the evasive and subtle phenomena of which the philosophy of history is woven.

The January, 1943, issue of the *Provincial Annals* of the Most Holy Name Province of Franciscans contains an article by Noel Conlon, O.F.M., entitled "Falconio—A Franciscan Portrait." In it the writer reviews the career of Diomede Cardinal Falconio, O.F.M., remembered principally as the third Apostolic Delegate to the United States (1902-1911). While the article makes no pretence to being an original contribution, it does have the merit of setting forth the story of its distinguished subject, who was resident in the United States at long intervals between 1865 and 1911 and who became an American citizen during his presidency of St. Bonaventure College at Alleghany, a post, incidentally, which he attained at the age of twenty-six. The article has appended a brief bibliography and a number of notes.

In the article by Howard R. Marraro on "Unpublished American Documents on the Roman Republic of 1849," which appeared in our preceding issue, it was stated: "The documents reproduced in this article, originally found in the archives of the American Embassy in Rome and in the Ameri-

can consultates in Italy, are still in Italy" (p. 461, n. 8). The Editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to make a correction: The records of the American diplomatic and consular posts in Italy up to 1912 are in The National Archives. They are at present available there for the use of students.

Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., professor of history in the University of Scranton, has recently edited in the form of an attractive brochure the *Journal of Father Adam Marshall, 1824-1825* (University of Scranton Press, 1943). It consists of a brief Introduction, the most striking passages of Marshall's diary kept during a sea voyage from December, 1824, to September, 1825, two Appendices on Marshall's biography, and a note on the American treaty with Turkey of May, 1830. Father Marshall, S.J., was the first priest to hold an office on an American ship of war; he sailed on the *North Carolina* in December, 1824 to its expected rendezvous with a Turkish vessel in the Mediterranean for the negotiation of a treaty between the Sultan's government and the American Republic. Marshall acted as schoolmaster on board ship, having taken the trip in the hope of regaining his health. He died, however, on September 20, 1825 and was buried at sea. He had served for a few months before sailing as president of Gonzaga College in Washington, D.C. The diary is of interest for Marshall's impressions of the places and peoples visited on the voyage. The work has been edited by Father Durkin from the original manuscript in the Archives of the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus. There is, incidentally, no mention of Marshall in the work of Aidan H. Germain, *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains, 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929).

Based upon unpublished despatches in The National Archives of three American ministers to Sardinia and to Italy between 1848 and 1870, Father Durkin contributes an interesting article to the March, 1943, *Historical Bulletin*. The general tone of the American diplomats' reports to the State Department as surveyed in the article reveals a somewhat surprising sympathy towards the position of Pius IX vis-à-vis the liberal Italy. The same issue of the *Bulletin* published an appreciation and evaluation of the career of Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., from a former student, Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the Diocese of Syracuse.

The December, 1942, issue of *Church History* contained an interesting article on "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the American Revolution" by Theodore G. Tappert, done largely from manuscript sources. Muhlenberg was a leading Lutheran minister in Philadelphia when the war came and he was made to suffer for his attempted neutrality. He remained firm in his stand despite the fact that two of his sons quit the pulpit for the army camp.

John T. Farrell, one of our advisory editors, has edited *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson*, 1772-1773 (Washington: Ameri-

can Historical Association. 1942). His work is highly commended by a reviewer in the January number of the *American Historical Review.*

Professor Rafael García Granados, head of the Department of History at the National University of Mexico, was received by the Institute of Ibero-American Studies, The Catholic University of America, on March 4. He gave an illustrated talk on "Mexican Feather Work," a subject to which he has devoted much attention. This remarkable work of the Aztecs even included miters made for the Spanish bishops of Mexico. Professor García Granados has just published his extremely interesting *Antigüedades mejicanas en Europa,* a study dedicated to the localization of objects of ancient Mexican art which reached Europe as a result of the Conquest. It appeared under the auspices of the Mexican Academy of History.

Earlier in the academic year, the Institute was addressed by Mr. Dantès Bellegarde, Minister of Education in Haiti and visiting professor at Howard University, who spoke on "Quelques aspects de la culture française au Haïti"; by the Reverend James A. Magner, procurator of The Catholic University of America, who spoke on "Mexico's Agrarian Economy"; and by Mr. Pedro Salinas, professor of Spanish at The Johns Hopkins University, who spoke on "El carácter español y la pintura."

As far as can be ascertained, Cleveland's is the first public library in the United States to have a Latin-American room. The standard general works, periodicals, and collections of documents for each of the Latin-American countries are practically complete. In addition, those in charge plan to make the library a research center for the Caribbean countries and the Liberators. The market is being combed for every possible document relating to the states of Venezuela, Guatemala, and Colombia. The aim in narrowing the field of specialization has been to avoid duplication with other libraries in the Middle West.

Professor Carlos E. Castañeda of the University of Texas, who was president in 1939 of the American Catholic Historical Association, has been named a member of the board of editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* along with Professor Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan.

Frances Kellam Hendricks of Trinity University, San Antonio, contributes a well-documented article to the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for November, 1942, on "The First Apostolic Mission to Chile." This apostolic delegation was led by Monsignor Muzi, who arrived in Chile in March, 1824. He had as a secretary of the delegation the future Pius IX. The delegation, the first to one of the former Spanish colonies following independence, was not successful, and Muzi left in the autumn after his arrival. The other material in this issue of the journal is listed in our Periodical Literature.

The annual Congress of Mexican History is being held this month at Jalapa, Vera Cruz. Professor José de Jesús Nuñez y Domínguez of the Museo Nacional de Historia has charge of the program.

The first number of *Estudios Históricos*, a new semi-annual review published in Guadalajara, Mexico, under the direction of Dr. Luis Medina Ascencio, appeared in January. The contents include: a foreword by the editor; articles on the subjects "San Juan Cozala", "Nuevas luces sobre la encíclica de León XII", "El obispo alcalde, benemérito de Guadalajara", and "Las cuatro primeras constituciones de México y el acta de reforma de 1847", by Father Luis Enrique Orozco, Dr. Medina Ascencio, Father Ramiro Camacho, S.J., and Father José Bravo Ugarte, S.J., respectively; a documentary study, "Chapala y su curato hasta el siglo XVIII", by José Ramírez Flores; an article on Mexican archives, by Luis Páez Brotchie; and, finally, a book-review and bibliographical section. The first number of this latest Mexican historical periodical is dedicated in gracious terms to His Excellency the Archbishop of Guadalajara, "a cuyo mecenazgo y munificencia se debe la aparición de esta revista", and is evidently oriented by a healthy respect for tradition, which Father Orozco, on p. 13, expresses in these terms: "Recordemos siempre lo que fuimos, para nunca dejar de ser lo que somos." Although it is true that the January issue stresses local history and smacks somewhat of the antiquarian, *Estudios Históricos* has begun auspiciously, and it will merit the encouragement of historians in and out of Mexico. All communications concerning the review should be addressed to The Editor, Apartado Postal No. 732, Guadalajara, Mexico.

Professor Federico Gómez de Orozco has written one of the first complete biographies of the young Aztec, Doña Marina, who was of such great help to Hernando Cortés in the conquest of Mexico. Despite her contribution to the realization of the Cortesian dream, Marina has never been given the attention that is her due. Professor Gomez de Orozco is the possessor of one of the finest libraries in Mexico and traces his descent from Marina through her alliance with Cortés. The book is one of a series of biographies being published by Ediciones Xochitl, others being on Cortés (José Vasconcelos); Gaston de Raousset (Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas); Fray Servando Teresa de Mier (Eduardo de Ontañón); Fray Bartolome de las Casas (Agustín Yáñez).

Father José Bravo Ugarte, S.J., was elected to the Mexican Academy of History to fill the vacancy left by the death of Carlos Pereyra. Father Bravo Ugarte is best known for his new *Historia de México*, of which Volumes I and II have been published by Editorial Jus, Mexico, D. F. His third volume, dealing with Mexico since independence, will be completed sometime during the course of 1943. His *Historia* is a remarkable synthesis of Mexico's past and has had wide acclaim from critics of the various schools of thought throughout the country.

Editorial Jus, Mexico, D. F., is completing the publication of a new and much-needed edition of the *Historia de Mexico* of Lucas Alamán. Alamán was probably the most erudite Mexican historian of the pre-Díaz epoch in Mexico and his work is especially valuable for the period of the struggle for independence, as he came to maturity during that time and knew many of the people who were prominent in the fight against Spain, among them being Father Miguel Hidalgo, who often visited the Alamán house in Guanajuato.

The Rector of the National University, Mexico, D. F., has sponsored an important step in the rewriting of Mexican history by asking prominent Mexican banking and business houses for contributions which will be used to subsidize investigation into unknown or neglected aspects of the country's past. The response to the Rector's appeal was such that he was able to make the almost immediate appointment of Professor J. Ignacio Rubio Mañe to one of the writing fellowships. Sr. Rubio Mañe is well known for his studies of Yucatán history and is secretary of the Mexican Academy of History. His task will be to write an extensive study of the reign of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo II, generally considered to be the best of the viceroys sent out from Spain under the Bourbons. Lic. Rudolfo Brito Foucher and the University he directs are to be congratulated on these efforts to apply modern scientific criticism and investigation to the masses of materials which should no longer be neglected by Mexicans and foreigners alike.

Professor Pablo Martínez del Río, well known to American students who attend the National University Summer School which he has directed for more than a dozen years, was a guest professor at the University of Texas during the month of December. His lectures on Mexican archaeology, anthropology, and history were very well attended and his visit was considered to be one of the most stimulating of all that have taken place since the interchange of professors between Mexico and the United States was initiated sometime ago. Sr. Martínez del Río is a product of Stonyhurst and Oxford and is best known for his *Los orígenes americanos*, a study of the antiquity of man in the Americas.

The January issue of *Abside* carries an article, "Arte religioso, notas de un pintor," by Angel Zarraga, which is illustrated by thirty elegant reproductions in black and white of religious murals by that artist.

Two brochures entitled *Observaciones sobre geografía* (Lima: Editorial "Lumen". 1942. Pp. 100 and 76) have reached our desk. Their author, M. M. Valle, refers to them as "versión española" but neglects to tell us what the "versión original" is. In the three parts which the brochures embody he pursues an investigation which is to serve, apparently, as an introduction to the fourth part still to be published. The parts under review jointly attempt to assemble, arrange, and clarify the various philosophical theories concerning "the geographical distribution of man on the

basis of his mode of thinking" and to enumerate "the results which follow from this distribution." The author discusses, in the first part, the influence of climate on man's mental manifestations. In the second part he takes up the relation between man's geographical distribution, the cultures found among the peoples of the earth, and the development of world history. The third part he devotes to a study of the effect which mental differences among men produce in the individual. Presumably, the promised fourth part will announce the stand of the author on the question at issue. Whatever this stand may turn out to be, the fundamental facts upon which it will have to be built are (1) that man in action, physically and mentally, remains always and everywhere a free agent, using the freedom with which his Creator has endowed him, and (2) that, because it upholds this freedom of man, the theistic concept of history is the only completely satisfying, the only reasonably acceptable, and the only philosophically consistent concept of history. Man in action, endowed with body and soul, is neither an unconscious piece of machinery in nature's production plant nor the handiwork of an uninterested, unproviding, and unremunerating deity. Both these concepts of history with their variants are depressing, repugnant, and illogical.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Catholic University of Peru has issued another number of its valuable *Cuadernos de Estudios* (Tomo II, No. 4, 1942). The following articles are published: "La Tesorería y la estadística de acuñación colonial en la Casa de Moneda de Lima", by Manuel Moreyra Paz Soldán; "Planes monárquicos de San Martín", by José de la Puente Candamo; "D. Enrique Meiggs: el hombre y el financista", by E. Valdez de la Torre; and "Notas para un diccionario de artífices coloniales", by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J. The address of the Instituto is Apartado 2139, Lima, Peru.

Father Serafim Leite, S. J., author of the already classic *História de Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1938), has recently published two brief monographs. One appeared in the *Revista da Academia Brasileira de Letras* of Rio de Janeiro (Ano 41, Vol. 63, Janeiro-Junho, 1942) under the title of "João Daniel, autor do 'Tesouro descoberto no máximo Rio Amazonas' (A luz de documentos inéditos)" (pp. 79-87), a fitting tribute to the fourth centenary of Orellana's voyage down the Amazon; the other appeared in the *Revista Brasileira*, also of Rio de Janeiro (Ano II, No. 4, Setembro 1942), under the title of "Os Jesuítas no Cabo do Norte" (pp. 15-30), a chapter from the third volume of his history of the Jesuits in Brazil, to be published shortly.

In the same number of the *Revista Brasileira*, Francisco Venâncio Filho contributes a study entitled "Euclides da Cunha e Rio-Branco" (pp. 86-102). Professor Venâncio buttresses his article with a number of unpublished letters.

Father Heliodoro Pires, of the Church of St. John the Baptist of Rio de Janeiro, has just published a work on Antônio Francisco Lisboa, the eighteenth-century Brazilian sculptor of Minas Gerais, *O Aleijadinho gigante da arte no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1942). The work is enhanced with a number of fine photographs.

The sixth revised edition of the late Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima's *História da Civilização*, a survey of world history first written in 1919 for Brazilian secondary school students, was published in 1940 by the Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. Dr. Lima will be remembered as a distinguished historian and diplomat and, also, as the donor of the well-known Lima Library, a particularly rich Ibero-American collection, to the Catholic University of America.

According to newspaper despatches, Dr. Manuel Múrias, director of the Arquivo Histórico Colonial of Lisbon and one of the leading authorities in the field of the history of Portuguese overseas expansion, has been appointed director-general of education for the colony of Angola (Portuguese West Africa).

The concession of virtually sovereign rights over the Territory of Manica and Sofala, Portuguese East Africa, granted fifty years ago by the Portuguese Government to the Moçambique Company, expired last July, and the area has, therefore, returned to the direct administration of the civil authorities. In tribute to an event of such historical significance, the October, 1942, number of the review *Moçambique*, published in Lourenço Marques, is devoted almost exclusively to the history of the territory in question. With the extinction of the Moçambique Company, the last of the great Portuguese chartered companies has come to an end.

Professor Kurt Reinhardt of Stanford University is the author of a recent pamphlet of interest to church historians and students of current international politics. It is entitled *The Commonwealth of Nations and the Papacy*.

Research students who must have access to serials in English history should not overlook the collection in the Cleveland Public Library. Over 250 serials are on hand, most of them complete.

Those who have read Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* will recall the masterly way in which he makes burial urns and cemeteries yield support for his statements. The same type of critical study in the same field will be found in J. L. Myres' "Cremation and Inhumation in the Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries" (*Antiquity*, December, 1942, pp. 330-342).

History, the quarterly publication of the Historical Association, has announced that for the duration only two numbers will appear during the

year, in March and September. The price for individual copies has been raised to 3s., but the subscription price remains the same for the present.

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* in its May, 1942, issue (Vol. XIX, No. 56) lists historical theses completed during 1941 in the universities of the United Kingdom. The following titles will be of especial interest to our readers: "Canterbury Cathedral Priory" by R. A. L. Smith (Ph.D., Cambridge); "The Philosophy of Law of St. Thomas Aquinas" by F. H. Hunt (Ph.D., Cambridge); "The Rise and Development of the Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800" by John MacInnes (Ph.D., Edinburgh); "Some 13th Century French Versions of the 'Chirurgia' of Roger of Salerno" by D. J. A. Ross (Ph.D., London); "The Works of Rabbi Moses Isserls as a Source of the History of the Jews in Poland in the 16th Century" by M. S. Lew (Ph.D., London); "Moslem Polemics Against Jews and Judaism" by M. Perlmann (Ph.D., London); "The Oxford Movement in a Manchester Parish" by H. E. Sheen (M.A., Manchester); "The Relations of James I and VI and the Court of Savoy" by J. Thompson (Ph.D., St. Andrews); "The Revival of Roman Catholicism in South Wales in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries" by G. J. J. Lynch (M.A., Cardiff); "The Jewish Economic, Religious and Social Life in Medieval Europe as Illustrated by the 'Responsa' of Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg (1215-93)" by A. Cohen (Ph.D., Cardiff); "The Evidence of Salvian for the Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West" by W. R. Davies (M.A., Swansea).

A quarterly, *Il Consilio di Trento*, is being published by the Trinitarian Fathers at Milan in preparation for the observance of the fourth centenary of the Council of Trent in 1945. In the first number His Eminence Ermenegildo Cardinal Pellegrinetti discusses the importance of the Council of Trent in relation to ecclesiastical and civil history; Monsignor Pio Paschini, Rector of the Lateran Pontifical Ateneo and director of the new publication, lists a series of questions which will be treated in it; Father Pietro Leturia, dean of the faculty of ecclesiastical history at the Gregorianum, writes on why the bishops of the New World were not represented at the Council of Trent. Cardinal Maglione in commending the quarterly for the Holy Father expresses the hope that scholars generally "with all the resources now at their disposal" will discuss "the various phases of the great event and of the subsequent Reformation in the divers parts of the Catholic World." It is unfortunate that the war prevents our receiving the publication.

The General Hospital of Quebec marked its 250th anniversary on April 1. The Hospitaller Sisters of St. Augustine have had charge of it since its foundation.

On May 25 of this year there will occur the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the ordination of the first priest in the United States. Ste-

phen Theodore Badin was ordained in Baltimore by Bishop John Carroll on May 25, 1793, after completing his studies at the newly opened St. Mary's Seminary. The March, 1943, issue of *The Voice* carries an article on him entitled: "Eldest Son." Thomas McAvoy, C.S.C., director of the archives at the University of Notre Dame, has recently found a letter of Father Badin dealing with the fact that Theodore J. Ryken, future founder of the Xaverian Brothers, collaborated for a time with Badin on the Indian missions.

The sesquicentennial of the founding of the archdiocesan seminary of Monterrey was observed at the end of February.

The centenary of the founding of All Hallows College in Dublin is being celebrated this year. The jubilee which began on December 14 is commemorated in an article in the December issue of *Studies* written by Thomas O'Donnell, C.M., President of the College.

The diocese of Harrisburg began the celebration of its diamond jubilee on the feast of St. Patrick.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the great biblical encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus*.

The Most Reverend Emmanuel B. Ledvina, Bishop of Corpus Christi, observed the golden jubilee of his ordination on March 18. Bishop Ledvina has been a life member of the Association for eighteen years.

Monsignor J. Henry Schengber, pastor of St. Francis Church, Cincinnati, and for many years a member of the American Catholic Historical Association, celebrated on February 12 the golden jubilee of his priesthood. The Association takes this opportunity of extending congratulations to both jubilarians.

Raymond Corrigan, S.J., director of the Department of History of St. Louis University, died on January 19 within nine days of his fifty-fourth birthday. Father Corrigan received his undergraduate training at Creighton University and St. Louis University. After a period of four years spent as a scholastic in Belize, British Honduras, he was sent to Eurpe for his theological schooling. He studied at the Colegio Maximo at Sarria, Spain from 1920-1923 and was ordained there. Thence he went to Ignatiuskolleg at Valkenburg in the Netherlands for a final year of theology. In 1924 he entered upon his formal graduate work in history at the University of Bonn, after a year moving on to the University of Munich, where he took the doctorate in 1927. He presented as his dissertation the study, *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und ihre Tätigkeit in Nord-Amerika* (Munich, 1928). Upon his return to the United States he taught at the University of Detroit and Marygrove College until 1931, when he went for a year to St. Mary's College, Kansas. In 1932 he began the decade of years

which was to end his life as director of the department and professor of history in St. Louis University. Besides his dissertation Father Corrigan published *The Church and the Nineteenth Century* (Milwaukee, 1938), and just a month before his death he finished the final pages of a manuscript on portraits of great Catholic laymen down to the nineteenth century. Beyond his exacting duties as chairman of his department in the University, professor of modern history, and director of graduate theses, he found time to edit the quarterly, *Historical Bulletin*, a publication which has been of real service to history teachers and students.

Father Corrigan had a sharp mind, a gruff exterior which only thinly concealed a lovable character, and a genuine passion for history and its advance as an academic discipline. His genuinely professional attitude never showed to better advantage than at the annual meetings of the historical societies, where he was ever articulate and co-operative with any enterprise that would redound to the welfare of the profession. In his death the American Catholic Historical Association has suffered a very serious loss. He held offices in it at various times and was serving the second in a three-year term as a member of the Executive Council when death called him.

Monsignor George J. Waring, vicar of the military ordinariate during World War I, and author of the volume, *United States Catholic Chaplains in the World War* (New York, 1924), died on February 24. In recent years he had been pastor of St. Ann's Church in East 12th Street, New York City.

Paul L. Blakely, S.J., died on February 26 at the age of sixty-two. For twenty-nine years Father Blakely was an associate editor of *America*, to which he contributed more than 1,100 signed articles. His field was primarily the social sciences, but he had a lively interest in history, notably in President Lincoln. He was a keen student of the Constitution.

Mediaeval studies suffered a real loss in the death of Thomas P. Oakley, formerly professor of mediaeval history in Fordham University. Mr. Oakley took the doctorate at Columbia University in 1923 and had held teaching positions at Syracuse University and the City College of New York before going to Fordham. He was a specialist in the subject of penitentials; several of his articles on that subject appeared in the REVIEW (XVIII, 341-351; XIX, 320-332; XXIV, 293-309).

Documents: Some letters of Bishop Henni, two addressed to the Reverend Joseph Ferdinand Mueller of the Ludwigmissionsverein, Munich, and one addressed to Archbishop Karl August, Count von Reisach. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed.) (*Salesianum*, Jan.).—Lettres de l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain à Francis Parkman (*Le Canada François*, Mar.). Church Documents on Usury, John E. Cantwell, S.J., (*Histor. Bulletin*, Jan. and Mar.).

BRIEF NOTICES

BAILEY, THOMAS A. *The Policy of the United States toward the Neutrals, 1917-18.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 520. $3.50.) In this monograph which contains the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History for 1941, Professor Bailey maintains his well-deserved reputation for clear, logical, and substantial presentation of the materials he studies. Contrary to a widely circulated belief that upon her entry into World War I the United States became as great an alleged "criminal" as Britain in her treatment of the small neutral nations, the author endeavors to prove with a wealth of evidence that Washington "did not violate international law in a sweeping or ruthless fashion and that its record on the whole is creditable." He readily admits that our attitude toward neutrals suffered a change in passing from neutrality to belligerency, but he looks upon the change as a reasonable one.

True to his prefatory promise not to read recent events and ideas into the policies of a quarter of a century ago, Professor Bailey examines the expressed and executed policies of the United States toward the neutrals of 1917-1918 in the context of the then accepted rules of international law. Some readers of this volume may feel a nostalgic respect for the studious efforts of American statesmen to live up to our neutral tradition while engaged in our first large scale extra-continental war. But living as we do in the midst of a global war which has the shape of a world revolution, others may see the modified neutrality policy of the Wilson Administration as a turning point in the historical experience of this country.

Professor Bailey, it must be said, does masterfully what he set out to do, that is, to examine our World War neutrality policy as reflected in the documents, newspapers, memoirs, and commentaries of participants in the events. Yet sometimes one wishes that the author had given a larger place to the social, political, and economic environment in which the policy was made and carried out. (CHARLES P. O'DONNELL)

BEUF, CARLO. *Cesare Borgia. The Machiavellian Prince.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 398. $3.50.) The narrative and descriptive gifts of the writer of this volume are not to be disparaged. They provide pleasant reading, though some may prefer a book less "glamorous" in its details. The well-known sources are taken into account with a moderate critical sense; the familiar Renaissance and Borgia pattern form the background. In spite of some well-formulated remarks the reviewer does not remember a reflection or observation which impressed him as new.

That Cesare was "the ideal ruler of the Italy of Machiavelli's dream" (p. 244), could hardly, in spite of Chapter VII of *The Prince,* be proved from the writings of the Florentine whose intellectual importance is not presented by

the writer in a sufficient way. He certainly is not to be considered only as the author of the *Opusculo de principatibus* as the writer—like so many others —still suggests. It may be added finally that it is not at all an established fact that *The Prince* had been completed "at the end of 1513" (p. 367); Machiavelli's letter to Vettori in December, 1513, is rather equivocal about this. (FREDERIC ENGEL-JANOSI)

CARROLL, H. BAILEY, and J. VILLASANA HAGGARD (Trans. and Eds.). *Three New Mexico Chronicles.* (Albuquerque: Quivira Society. 1942. Pp. xxiii, 341. $10.00.) Rarely is an opportunity afforded scholars to consider an account of the organization, resources, advantages, and requirements of an area such as is made possible by this translation of the 1849 edition of Don José Augustín de Escudero's work published herewith for the Quivira Society Publications in a limited edition. This statistician for Durango, Chihuahua, New Leon, Sonora, and New Mexico drew up for his government an arrangement of the *Exposición* by the collaborators Don Pedro Bautista Pino, Juan López Cancelada, and the Count of Toreno, and the *Ojeada* of Licenciado Don Antonio Barreiro. Because the *Exposición* is the report presented to the Spanish Cortez in 1812 (published in Cadiz in 1812) by men of integrity, and the *Ojeada* the work of the legal adviser to the territorial authorities (published in Puebla in 1832), the value of Escudero's work, presenting a compilation with additional information, is patent. How highly scholars of the field appraised this work is clear from the editors' Introduction (p. xiv). As the translators state, they have set themselves to the task of presenting a memorable document in language which "gives an accurate rendition of the original thought and substance in an easy English style" so that the text reads "as if it had been originally composed in English instead of bearing earmarks of translated copy" (p. xxii). Not only have they achieved this goal with extraordinary success, but by adding a photostat (pp. 211-318) of the *Exposición* and the *Ojeada* in the original, they challenge comparative study. In addition the editors' Notes (pp. 153-205) present not only a very scholarly and precise commentary which succeeds in supplying superabundant background material, but also a remarkably complete bibliography on each of the points treated. There is only one regret, namely, that the work by its very nature will exercise only a limited appeal and will not create a well-merited demand for a popular edition. (ALPHONSE F. KUHN)

CHAFEE, ZECHARIAH, JR. *Free Speech in the United States.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 634. $4.00.) This definitive treatise on free speech by the Langdell Professor of Law in Harvard University has an especial pertinence in these times of war when free speech is as important as agitations about second fronts or the poll tax, though perhaps not so freely debated. Historians will welcome the fact that the treatment is historical. The main part of the book deals with the two decades of peace, 1920-1930 and 1930-1940. Thus the book deliberately deals only with the question of free speech in peace times, the author holding that it is too early to pass judgment on the question in Great Britain, still less in the United States, which had not entered the war when the book was pub-

lished. As a matter of fact, this deliberate limitation heightens rather than lessens the value of the volume because the passions of war do not enter in to disturb the objective treatment which the subject deserves and receives. On the speculative or ethical side, the author takes the usual defensible stand that offenses against public morality, decency, or tranquility in a democracy should be dealt with by the processes of law after the offense rather than before. (Whether this process should be reversed during a war, he naturally leaves an open question.) Unfortunately, in questions dealing with objective morality, the author is paralyzed by the scepticism that stems from the current, but doomed, subjectivism and pragmatism of our age. In the section on the motion pictures, this reviewer regrets that the author did not see fit to show how the evil of state censorship has been largely nullified by the system of self-censorship which the moving-picture industry has introduced. (WILFRID PARSONS)

CHRIMES, S. B. (Ed. and Trans.). *Sir John Fortescue De Laudibus Legum Anglie.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. cxiv, 235. $6.00.) This latest addition to the Cambridge Studies in English Legal History maintains the excellence of the series. The editor, Dr. Chrimes, already favorably known for his Alexander Prize Essay on Fortescue (1934), his *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (1936), and his translation of Fritz Kern's studies under the title of *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (1939), has in this volume produced an edition and translation of Fortescue's work which is of permanent value.

The problems which confronted Fortescue were not unlike those of our own time, among them being the nature of the king's authority and sovereignty, the proper extent of popular representation in government, and the function of the legislative in making, as distinguished from declaring, war.

For the most part the manifest competence of Dr. Chrimes and the general editor, Dr. Hazeltine, inspires confidence in their scholarly interpretations. The influence of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastics on Fortescue, however, deserves further study. Not Petrarch (p. xix) but Albertus Magnus may have shaped Fortescue's research method. Not the Accursian Gloss (p. 147) but Alexander of Hales could be the source of Bracton and Fortescue's definition, *lex est sanccio sancta.* Not Fortescue but Bracton declared it to be *consilio et consensu* through which English laws received their authority. And to this reviewer, Dr. Chrimes seems to be on safer ground in feeling instinctively a significance beyond what he can prove in the association of manuscripts by Poggio and by Vincent of Beauvais with Fortescue's (pp. xc-xcii) than Dr. Hazeltine appears in relying on St. Germain as an interpreter of Fortescue's mind with reference to Wycliffe. Fortescue is indeed as important as the editors acknowledge, but his significance lies less in his contributions to English institutional history than in the implicit testimony he gives to the perdurance of the philosophy of the Christian schools in English legal thought. (MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY)

CLARKSON, PAUL S., and WARREN, CLYDE T. *The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xxvii, 346. $3.50.) This interesting and original publication by

two literary-minded practicing lawyers is a noteworthy addition to a novel field, situated between the two specialties of law and literature. The book presents in analytical pattern a reconstruction of the law of property, both personal and real, and the law of descent, distribution, wills, and administration from passages selected from almost three hundred plays of Shakespeare and other dramatists in the golden age of English literature. The chief value of the book arises from the light which is generated by expository inter-relations of the two subject matters.

The skillful blending of legal elements, perhaps often obvious to the mature lawyer, with the dramatic ingredients,—probably sometimes boring to the expert literary scholar, has enabled the authors to achieve their ambition to appeal to three general classes of readers, namely, Shakespearian scholars, legalists, and finally, persons in general with an appreciation "of both our legal and literary heritage."

Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Warren purposely set out "to garner the mint, anise and cummin of the law in the Elizabethan drama." Actually they have done much more by creating a commendable reference work which clarifies an involved and technical segment of the works of the great Bard of Avon, and the dramatic giants of an imperishable era. The permanent and reference character of the book has been emphasized on the mechanical side by the inclusion of a general Index and three thorough, special indexes, namely, Cases Cited, Statutes Cited, and Dramatic Citations. In addition to these features, there is a Bibliography which details dramatic and legal texts and general references. (BRENDAN F. BROWN)

DOHERTY, MARTIN W. *The House on Humility Street.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 269. $3.00.) Father Doherty's book is sub-titled "Memories of the North American College in Rome" and tells of his days as a student for the priesthood in the Eternal City. His decision to study for the priesthood was made while working as a newspaper man in Chicago and the opening chapters of the book give an entertaining picture of his associates in the newspaper world and their efforts to help him in that decision. His best adviser made matters very simple. Speaking of life's problems, he pronounced: "'Now the young man who goes in for the priesthood has all three problems solved for him when he submits to Holy Orders. His vow of chastity disposes entirely of the sex problem. His material needs will be provided by the Church. That eliminates his financial problem. His choice of a state in life settles definitely his religious problem'" (pp. 37-38).

Although Father Doherty's residence at the American College was for only one academic year, the institution and the city both made a deep and abiding impression upon him. He gives a vivid account of the student's life both inside and outside the walls of the House on Humility Street. This he can do because his year was typical of all the best years spent by so many seminarians in the noblest of all seminaries. In the midst of a war that will inevitably work so many changes in Rome, a special prayer should be raised for the preservation of the Collegio Americano del Nord. Whatever may be its ultimate

lot, its sons will always hold it deepest in their hearts and voice their love for it in Claudian's words,

Obruerint citius scelerata oblivia solem
Quam tuus ex nostro corde recedat honos.

(JOHN K. RYAN)

EGUIGURÉN, LUIS ANTONIO. *Guerra Separatista del Perú (1777-1780).* (Lima, Peru: Imprenta Torres Aguirre. 1942. Pp. 83.) This volume consists primarily of a compilation of unedited and unpublished documents. What comment there is of the author's own is found almost exclusively in the first section in which he makes comparisons between situations deplorable for the Indians subjected to the colonial *mita* and the suffering of contemporary Peruvians under the "dumb ox." It is necessary to point out that, although undoubtedly Eguigurén is sincere in his criticisms, there is a good bit of personal reaction apparent. If the reference is to General Benavides, as it undoubtedly is, who became president of Peru, first in 1933 and again in 1936, it must be noted that the author was the opposition candidate for the office in 1936 and, when it became apparent that Eguigurén's victory was indicated, Benavides annulled the election and became an outright dictator. In fact, Eguigurén has even published a book entitled *El Usurpador, 1933-1939.*

Eguigurén's numerous works are well-known. One of his latest publications, *Diccionario Histórico de la Universidad de San Marcos,* Tomo I, was reviewed in this journal (Volume XXVII, January, 1942) by Francis Borgia Steck. The criticisms of Spain's colonial policies are widely known. It is by no means original with Eguigurén to call attention to the extremities of statements made by the various French writers whose words were often motivated by political hostility to Spain and even by our own Robertson (whose *History of America* the author specifically mentions); but since repetition is supposed to give emphasis, Eguigurén's recital of the counter-contributions of Machuga, de Quevedo, the Jesuit Nuix, Humboldt, Lumnis, Mario André, and others "help one to find the truth and the happy medium."

Two-thirds of the volume consists of a presentation without comment of the unpublished documents connected with the Tambohuacso case, the most prominent precursor of Amaro—petitions, decrees, letters, and acknowledgments thereof by various royal officials, confessions and second confessions, declarations, testimony of witnesses, the summaries of Dr. Baquíjano for the defense and of the prosecutor.

Much of the latter part of the material is repetitious. Because of the nature of the work that is undoubtedly inevitable. It is certain that Eguigurén has made a contribution valuable for the research student. There is no pretense of effecting anything in the way of integration or any attempt at professional editing.

The conclusion to the first section is an interesting and significant one:

> When the history which is taught to youth cites and anathematizes as a whole all the titled statesmen and petty generals with their vile counselors who have violated justice, humanity will begin to be free and walk along the right path. (MARY P. HOLLERAN)

JONES, C. K. *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. 311. 40c. Cloth.) Students of Latin American history who have been using and have profited by the author's *Hispanic American Bibliographies,* published twenty years ago, will be delighted with this newly revised and enlarged edition, with its more precise title. It is unquestionably a fundamental reference work for anyone who engages in research in Latin American affairs. It contains 3016 titles of books, either themselves bibliographical in character or embodying bibliographical lists and references to documentary material. The titles are richly annotated and, if the book is in the Library of Congress, the number of the call card is noted. Except for general and miscellaneous works, the titles are arranged by countries, for each of which there is a brief introduction directing attention to already available comprehensive bibliographies.

In revising his volume Mr. Jones was assisted by James A. Granier, member of the Library of Congress staff before his entrance into the military service, while three well-known scholars served in the capacity of advisory editors: Dr. Rubens Borba de Moraes, director of the Biblioteca Publica Municipal of São Paulo, Brazil, Professor José Torre Revello, distinguished bibliographer of Argentina, and Sturgis E. Leavitt, professor of Spanish in the University of North Carolina. No library should be without this well-edited and indispensable tool of research in Latin American history. To Mr. Jones and his associates must go a word of high commendation on having completed a work that cost them many days of hard and fatiguing labor. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

MARITAIN, JACQUES. *Christianity and Politics.* (New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. viii, 248. 1941. $2.50.) These nine essays, which form the substance of lectures given in this country by the distinguished philosopher, are, by his own choice, rather moral and practical than speculative or historical. This is not to say that M. Maritain has abandoned philosophy in them; rather, he has developed a social philosophy and, in the later essays, applied it to the position which the Catholic occupies in the present troubled world. This philosophy revolves around two key ideas: that of the person and that of the autonomy of the profane, or secular. He is thus occupied in destroying a false dualism, that within man himself, and establishing a sane one, that in the world in which man finds himself. By re-establishing the unity of the human personality, M. Maritain would give every Catholic a philosophy of life which may serve him in both Catholic action and in political action. The reader will read here M. Maritain's application of the person-individual theory to politics, but whether he agrees with the author on this or not, he will find his analysis of the human person in the social complex both stimulating and useful. Finally, the historian will discover a sketch of a philosophy of history and will wish that M. Maritain might some day devote his genius to the composition of a work *de longue haleine* in this field. (WILFRID PARSONS)

MCWILLIAMS, J. A., S.J. *Philosophy for the Millions.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. vii, 206. $2.00.) Father McWilliams is well known in philosophical circles for his unusual ability to express profound philosophical

problems in simple terms. Hence few writers in this field are better equipped to present "philosophy for the millions." Nor does the fact that it is from the scholastic view, with its natural affinity for common sense, that the millions are introduced to ultimate problems, in any way lessen the success of the venture. Father McWilliams specifically eschews the methods of the learned philosopher and even of the textbook writer. His study is without benefit of a single footnote! As the author puts it, he presents "the philosophy of the schools, but with the schoolroom left out." No particular background is presumed. The single aim is to bring philosophy into contact with life, to give answers to important problems, unfashionable as that may be in professional circles.

For these purposes there are four considerations following a brief introduction on the nature and importance of philosophy: the personal, the social, the spiritual, and the historical record. The first deals with the unique spiritual character of man and his goal, as opposed to current philosophies which would dehumanize him. The second considers a correct view of man's social nature against the exaggerations of totalitarianism. Under the spiritual is further treatment of man's spiritual nature, his origin by creation and his consequent religious nature, as well as the sources of contemporary irreligion. Finally a philosophy of history is essayed as a background for a clearer understanding of the modern era since the Renaissance. If we may apply the test of the manner in which a stated purpose is fulfilled then *Philosophy for the Millions* is an outstanding achievement. Scholastic philosophers are fortunate in having such an impressario who popularizes without compromising principles. (CHARLES A. HART)

MOSHER, WILLIAM E. (Ed.). *Introduction to Responsible Citizenship.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1941. Pp. viii, 887. $3.25.) This comprehensive text in political science is written by members of the faculty of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. It is the result of seventeen years of teaching government from the point of view of citizenship in the citizen. As it stands, it is a not unpleasant mingling of history, theory, and ethics, and thus can be styled a successful experiment. The point of view of the writers is conservative, which nowadays means liberal in social-economic matters and opposed to totalitarianisms of Fascist, Nazi, or Communist stripes. (WILFRID PARSONS)

NEUMANN, SIGMUND. *Permanent Revolution. The Total State in a World at War.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1942. Pp. xviii, 388. $3.00.) This volume gives a searching analysis of modern totalitarian dictatorship, probes into its genesis, explains its impelling dynamics, and studies the social structures by which it is implemented. Whilst dictatorial rule is not a new phenomenon in history, the absolutism which has arisen in our days belongs to a category of its own and emerges as a distinct type without a parallel in the past. Perhaps its most characteristic feature is that it has assumed an outwardly democratic guise and masquerades as a genuinely popular dictatorship. To strengthen the deception it cleverly exploits familiar democratic techniques, though the spirit is conspicuously absent. In spite of its contrary claims the

modern dictatorship is merely pseudo-democratic and radically opposed to everything for which democracy stands.

The title of the book, at first somewhat startling, seems quite plausible if we bear in mind that modern dictatorship is born of a crisis and can only maintain itself as an emergency government against newly arising crises. It stands at the frontier of chaos against which perpetual war must be waged. Here lies the source of its boundless dynamics. Aptly the author says: "The dictatorial regimes are governments at war, originating in war, aiming at war, thriving on war" (p. 230). Thus it is apparent that the modern dictatorships must become a menace to the rest of the world. True, totalitarianism takes on various forms, but notwithstanding superficial divergencies conditioned by history and national climate, it always conforms to the same basic pattern.

The book contributes to a clearer understanding of totalitarianism and signals the dangers which the new nihilism involves. It bespeaks extensive reading on the subject and contains an excellent Bibliography. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

POTTER, DAVID M. *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. x, 408. $3.75.) Dr. Potter has shown, in a very carefully told story, that the political history of the critical months between Lincoln's election and inauguration presented a problem in statesmanship, one which the Republican leaders professed to consider as far from hopeless. Yet they failed to solve the problem, and it is difficult to understand why their conduct should afterwards have been judged to have been without fault. More extraordinary is the fact that until this study we have had no full examination of the record, as though no explanation was necessary beyond acknowledgments of Lincoln's pacific intent, and the clearly aggressive spirit of southern nationalists. Yet there was a problem of reconstruction in 1860, just as in 1865, and it seems fantastic to have spent so much time wondering whether a Tragic Era could have been avoided after four years of bitter warfare, without stressing the political errors which spoiled such an opportunity as was presented in 1860. Then, instead of a background of war hatred there was a majority sentiment in favor of peaceable adjustment. In his explanation of Republican failure, Dr. Potter stresses what is aptly termed the "Irrepressible Conflict In The Republican Party," Seward's inability to maneuver a compromise while he represented no more than a conservative "wing" of the party, and Lincoln's refusal to exercise leadership which might have forced the party division into the open. There is also a proper emphasis upon the persistent refusal of the Republicans to understand that compromise and war were the only alternatives.

Unless the unopened Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress contain some unexpected revelations about this period, this story will be a final rendering. It is secure in its mechanics of scholarship and in clarity of language. As usual, the Yale University Press has given the author the benefit of a fine job of bookmaking. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

PRESCOTT, ARTHUR T. *Drafting the Federal Constitution.* (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. xix, 838. $5.50.) Madison's Notes, our chief source for the deliberations and actions of the Constitutional

Convention, present, as every student of constitutional history knows, a day-by-day account of what there happened. In Professor Prescott's own words "it is the magnum opus of political documents but it is difficult to use for tracing the continuous development of propositions submitted to the Philadelphia Convention." For that reason, the author has rearranged Madison's Notes on the basis of function and relationship to show how each provision was consecutively evolved. For example, all the deliberations and the action relating to vacancies in the Senate are grouped under one heading, as are such other senatorial questions as the election and qualifications of members, in the chapter which treats of the Senate. Thus, the student is conveniently given in one place all the materials relating to Senate vacancies. The deliberations and action of August 6 and 9, and September 12 and 17 are brought together giving a unity of subject matter which is necessarily lacking in the Notes.

Teachers and students of American government and constitutional law will find this work exceedingly helpful for their purposes. Its value has been enhanced by insertions of selected documents relating to the bringing of the drafting machinery into existence, the compiler's own insertions, and an Index. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

SALAMANCA, LUCY. *Fortress of Freedom: The Story of the Library of Congress.* With a Foreword by Archibald MacLeish. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1942. Pp. 445. $4.00.) Miss Salamanca has given us in popular, journalistic style the interesting story of our greatest storehouse of knowledge and center of research. Her chronicle begins with the first Congress and its first Library, and brings it down to the present and the present librarian, Archibald MacLeish. The author, an established writer and at the same time head of the inquiry and general research section of legislative reference service at the Library of Congress, would by reason of her talents and the resources placed at her disposal be expected to produce something well-nigh definitive on the subject. However, the absence of documentation of sources and authorities, the omission, or practical omission, of such significant names as Martel, Hastings, Phillipps, and Sonneck, and a handful of historical inaccuracies, suggest the speed with which the work was produced and at the same time remove from it the quality of definitiveness.

Sources for most of the first half of her book may be traced to the pages or the documentation found in W. Dawson Johnston's *History of the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1904) which carried the narrative only to the beginning of the administration of Ainsworth Rand Spofford in 1864. Miss Salamanca succeeded, however, where Johnston did not, in making the story one easy to read. The account of the administrative struggles of the nine librarians, the numerous anecdotes illustrative of the development of American librarianship, the chapters on Spofford, the "Scholar and Visionary", on Herbert Putnam, the great organizer, and on Archibald MacLeish, the poet librarian, will be of special interest to professional librarians. Sections of the final chapters of the book will be useful to scholars who desire a wider acquaintance with the facilities and services which the Library of Congress offers for research. The *Fortress of Freedom* will make all readers realize more fully the extent, the functions, and the value of one of their greatest treasures. (JAMES J. KORTENDICK)

SCOTT, ERNEST F. *The Nature of the Early Church.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. vii, 245. $2.00.) The present volume is not a strictly historical inquiry. Dr. Scott gives here a constructive rather than an analytic interpretation of the essential character of the early Church in order to apply it to the present. He believes that at a time when Christian civilization is in peril the Church's foundations need to be re-examined and tested. The secret of its formative idea must be sought in that crucial period when the Church and the Christian message came into being. And so the book contains chapters on the significance of the primitive Church, the Church and the message of Jesus, the worship of the early Church, the organizing of the early Church, the teaching of the early Church, Paul's conception and the ethical task of the Church, and finally on Church and State.

One may differ from the author's point of view in many instances. The chapter on the worship of the early Church, for example, remains pale because the sacrificial character of the Eucharistic liturgy is totally neglected. But one thing strikes the reader: the absolute seriousness and honesty with which the author discusses his problems. It is inspiring to see how an outstanding New Testament authority dismisses all rationalistic explanation of the Church's foundation as impossible: "The triumph of Christianity cannot be explained from any combination of external causes. It was due to something inherent in the religion itself. A new power had entered the world through Christ and was working irresistibily through his Church" (p. 89). (JOHANNES QUASTEN)

SIMON, YVES. *The Road to Vichy, 1918-1938.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. 207. $2.25.) Postmortems on France are usually partisan attempts to exploit the present situation rather than honest efforts to establish the facts. Each faction places the blame on rival groups and claims to have made no culpable contribution to the national disaster. M. Simon is an exception to this rule. He belongs to the Catholic bourgeoisie and does not spare their blindness and folly or that of their colleagues on the Right.

M. Simon believes that the seeds of dissolution were planted when, by 1918, France abandoned belief in the revolutionary principles of 1789 and found no substitute for them. She was denied the grace to return to her Christian past and found nothing appealing in the new doctrines that were energizing neighboring countries. Her genius was without an aim. Her aspirations did not correspond to her energies. Apathy and pessimism developed, domestic quarrels followed, and conditions ideally suited to alien subversive elements were produced. Disunity was increased by apostles of violence, and the disintegration of French society was progressive. The inevitability of the collapse of 1940 was assured, and all sides in France contributed to it.

M. Simon writes with admirable clarity and restraint, but he leaves untouched some points that deserve attention. It is hard to share his belief that the Third Republic could have been saved. It was at best a makeshift protest and a clumsy compromise. The Catholic revival certainly came about in spite of the regime, and it was too little and too late. Laval was Premier three times before 1940. It is reasonable to wonder if Ethiopia was worth the Stresa front and if French opposition to Italy was quite as noble as M. Simon be-

lieves. Petain did not cause the collapse but was appointed receiver after the event. No better candidate was available, and criticism of him, so easy from here, invariably ignores the rope around his neck. (FLORENCE D. COHALAN)

STEPHENSON, CARL. *Medieval Feudalism.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pp. ix, 116. $1.25.) All teachers and students of mediaeval history owe Professor Stephenson a debt of gratitude for providing so superbly a work for which there has long been an obvious need. Although feudalism is the really basic institution for the Middle Ages, until this volume appeared there was no up-to-date survey in English to which the student could be referred to supplement the bare analysis of the college text. Furthermore this little volume of just over one hundred pages is ideally suited for collateral reading. It presents lucidly with just the right amount of illustration, the origins and development of a highly complex organization, avoiding the pitfalls of oversimplification or too great stress on exceptional details. The author has wisely centered his attention on commendation and the fief in their political and social aspects. By omitting entirely the economic problems of manorialism the work gains greatly in focus. After all there is plenty of good reading in English on the manor, so that by selecting the strictly feudal aspects for logical exposition a tool has been provided that should do much to dispel the confusion all too frequently found in the undergraduate mind of serf with vassal, manor with fief. This volume is further enhanced with a brief Bibliographical Essay on suggested readings, and illustrations from drawings based on the Bayeux Tapestry. (CYRIL E. SMITH)

TSCHAN, FRANCIS J., HAROLD J. GRIMM, and J. DUANE SQUIRES. *Western Civilization, The Decline of Rome to 1660.* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott and Co. 1942. Pp. 783, xciii. $3.25.) The reviewer is impressed by the teachability of this textbook. Accepted and well-established educational helps are incorporated in the volume: marginal paragraph headings, a full complement of maps in striking clarity,—many in color,—illustrative charts, pictographs, drawings, and significant tables, as well as appendices giving chronological lists of rulers, all tend to round out the volume and make it a handy working tool for students. A comprehensive, well-arranged Bibliography suggests further reading and an adequate Index completes the volume. The externals of a good classroom manual are thus incorporated.

The subject matter of the book is well treated; the volume is conveniently divided into four sections or units, and each unit in turn is subdivided into chapters which give a well-balanced treatment to the cultural as well as the political life of mediaeval times. The account of the Carolingian Empire is particularly well done. It is generally admitted that students find the period of the decline of the Carolingians difficult to grasp because of the tangled condition of affairs that followed the death of Charlemagne. This work, however, unravels the political mass of threads so cleverly as to make the content free from complexity. The student readily sees the rising power of independent landholders and nobles when Western Europe was internally disunited and externally ravaged by invasions; he sees the breaking up of Charlemagne's Empire into numerous, independent states when these power-

ful lords assumed kingly control over their weaker neighbors; and he then understands why and how the new form of government, called feudalism, was established.

Indeed, the story of the early Middle Ages, Parts I and II of the book, is so well done that a few additional considerations are called forth, particularly in view of the shortcomings of previous treatments. After all, the known facts of mediaeval history are well established, and writers have narrated them in substance since textbooks were first written. However, it is precisely in narrating the facts, in concerning themselves almost exclusively with "events" and "deeds", all too frequently with a cold materialism, positivism, and rationalism permeating their works, that writers describing the Middle Ages have fallen short, and have given us a historiography that is mere photography. It is necessary, if history is to have any significance, to do more than simply state what has happened. Events must be explained, causes revealed, motives uncovered, and objectives defined; and this can be done only when the author enters into the thought, life, and temper of the period.

In the story of the mediaeval period we have such history; it is written from within. Thoughtful students should finish this section with more in mind than pen pictures—with a feeling that they have lived with the men and understood their problems as they saw them. It is unfortunate that such splendidly organized material is going to remain largely in the hands of college freshmen and sophomores, where at best it will not be fully appreciated; it could profitably be read by mature minds who would gain an abiding recognition of the completeness of mediaeval life, thought, and culture.

The authors chose to carry their story up to the year 1660 giving a substantial treatment in 232 pages to the events of the early modern era. This might not be a convenient division of subject matter at such schools where the European history courses are arranged on the assumption that the year 1500 marks the division between mediaeval and modern times. Teachers of mediaeval history at such institutions will either have to omit part of the volume or encroach on the preserves of a colleague. (JOSEPH W. SCHMITZ)

WILBUR, MARGUERITE EYER (Ed. and Trans.). *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850. The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard.* (Los Angeles: Calafia Society. 1941. Pp. xix, 291. $5.00.) Heinrich Lienhard came to California from his native Switzerland in 1846. He settled at the important trading post of New Helvetia, now Sacramento, founded in 1839 by his compatriot, Captain John Augustus Sutter, and protected by a pretentious fort called Sutter's Fort. In 1850 he left California for good and returned to his native land. Returning after a short time to America he settled permanently in Illinois. Here he wrote his reminiscences in German. These have now been translated and edited with annotations as Number Three of the Califia Series. The sections dealing with the author's experiences outside of California have been omitted, so that the present work is a historical document dealing with early California history.

The first two chapters deal with the Mexican War, for Lienhard enlisted in the United States army shortly after his arrival in California. The rest of the

book deals mostly with the life Lienhard led at Sutter's Fort after the war. Lienhard gives most interesting, intimate, and detailed accounts of the early pioneers he met. He describes the customs of the Indians, the cultivation of the soil, the discovery of gold, the wild life of the miners. He gives descriptions also of travel by boat on the Sacramento River and here and there interesting details of early San Francisco.

These reminiscences are written in a detached and seemingly objective manner. But is the picture he draws of Sutter not somewhat darkened by the shabby treatment he claims to have received from him? The historian will have to appraise carefully the subjective element of this diary. But the mass of factual descriptions will be most helpful in filling out more fully the true picture of that early period.

The translation is idiomatic. The book is illustrated and is provided with a Bibliography and an Index. The format is artistic and attractive. (EDWARD HAGEMANN)

WILGUS, A. CURTIS. *Histories and Historians of Hispanic America.* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1942. Pp. xii, 144. $1.75.) This volume is a "revised, corrected, and augmented" edition of a work first published in 1936. The matter and method of the first edition have been retained. The book is divided into five chapters, each chapter being devoted to the works of one century. A brief historical introduction to each century begins each chapter. This is followed by a list of authors and works following the classification of general works, and works of individual countries and regions. Dates are given for both authors and works and, where it is merited, a brief commentary or evaluation of the work cited. A Bibliography of further biographical and bibliographical works makes the book more valuable.

The value of this volume lies in the fact that it is such a handy and useful reference. The chronological arrangement of the chapters, the analytical table of contents, and the Index of authors and editors make it easy to use. For anyone working in Hispanic American history this work will prove a much-used and convenient guide. (EDWARD J. MCCARTHY)

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Una gloria del clero Oaxaqueño olvidada, José María Sáenz de Enciso, 1828-1869. G. D. (*ibid.*).

Recuerdos de mi vida [cont.]. Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores (*ibid.*, Jan., Feb., and Mar.).

Le Hispanidad y Carlos Pereyra. Guillermo Villalobos (*Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos*, Nov.).

Sucesos y recuerdos de la independencia en Chihuahua. Parts I and II. Francisco R. Almada (*ibid.*, Dec. and Jan.).

Los Misioneros españoles. David Rubio, O.S.A. (*Universidad Católica Bolivariana*, Aug.-Nov.).

El "Ideario católico del Imperio español." Manuel Jiminez Quilez (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Aquinas, Sister M. Thomas, O.P., and Mary Synon, *These Are Our People.* (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1943. Pp. 416. $1.28.) This is the fifth reader in the Faith and Freedom Series of the Catholic University of America. The attractive features which have marked the earlier readers appear here. There are a large number of illustrations and a list of Books to Read.

Bailey, Frank Edgar, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement. A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1826-1853.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 312. $3.50.)

Barlow, R. H., and George T. Smisor (Ed. and Trans.), *Nombre de Dios, Durango. Two Documents in Nahuatl concerning Its Foundation.* (Sacramento: House of Tlaloc. 1943. Pp. xxv, 103. $2.75.)

Bartram, John, *Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766.* Annotated by Francis Harper. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1942. Pp. iv, 120. $2.00.) This diary is by one of the nine original members of the American Philosophical Society and a distinguished Philadelphia naturalist. His interest in his southern travels quite expectedly reflects the scientist's preoccupation with trees, flowers, etc. The volume here published is Part I of XXXIII of the New Series of the Society's *Transactions.* It is a fine piece of work with twenty-two plates which illustrate southern scenes and historic buildings. There is as well an annotated Index, General Index, and a listing of bibliographical items as well as maps and atlases.

Brennan, Robert E., O.P. (Ed.), *Essays in Thomism.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. vii, 427. $5.00.) This volume contains sixteen essays in various aspects of the thought of St. Thomas. Each essay is written by a specialist in that particular subject of Aquinas' philosophy. There is an extensive Bibliography and an Index.

Bulletin bibliographique de la Société des Ecrivains Canadiens. (Montreal: Editions de la Société des Ecrivains canadiens. 1942. Pp. 127.)

Burckhardt, Jacob, *Force and Freedom. Reflections on History.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1943. Pp. vi, 382. $3.50.)

Campbell, Francis Stuart, *The Menace of the Herd or Procrustes at Large.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. cxlii, 466. $1.50.)

Charvat, William, and Michael Draus, *William Hickling Prescott.* (New York: American Book Co. 1943. Pp. cxlii, 466. $1.50.)

Cowles, Willard Bunce, *Treaties and Constitutional Law, Property Interferences and Due Process of Law.* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xv, 315. Paper, $3.50; cloth, $4.50.)

Davis, Elmer, and Byron Price, *War Information and Censorship.* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. 79. $1.00.) This brochure by the directors of the Office of War Information and the Office of Censorship, respectively, contains brief descriptions of the purposes of these two war agencies and instructions to editors, librarians, etc., in the use of information affecting the war.

DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis, *Say the Bells of Old Missions. Legends of Old New Mexico Churches.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. viii, 168. $1.75.)

Dempsey, Bernard W., *Interest and Usury.* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xii, 233. Paper, $3.00; cloth, $3.50.)

DeVoto, Bernard, *The Year of Decision, 1846.* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1943. Pp. xv, 538. $3.50.)

Ducey, W. Michael, O.S.B. (Ed.), *National Liturgical Week, 1942.* (Ferdinand, Ind.: Benedictine Liturgical Conference. 1943. Pp. xi, 226.)

Espinosa, Antonio Vazquez de, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies.* Translated by Charles Upson Clark. Vol. 102 of Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1942. Pp. xii, 86. $2.50.)

Godolphin, Frances R. B. (Ed.), *The Greek Historians. The Complete and Unabridged Historical Works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian.* 2 Vols. (New York: Random House. 1942. Pp. xxxvii; 1001; 964. $6.00.)

Goldman, Eric F., *John Bach McMaster, American Historian.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 194. $2.00.)

Hagen, Oskar, *Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1943. Pp. xix, 279. $4.00.)

Hemleben, Sylvester John, *Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 227. $2.50.)

Hilton, Ronald, *Four Studies in Franco-Spanish Relations.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. 57. $1.25.)

Hope, Arthur J., C.S.C., *Notre Dame—One Hundred Years.* (Notre Dame: University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 482. $4.00.)

Howland, Arthur C. (Ed.), *Minor Historical Writings and Other Essays by Henry Charles Lea.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 410. $3.50.)

Jamet, Dom Albert, O.S.B., *Marguerite Bourgeoys, 1620-1700.* 2 Vols. (Montreal: La presse Catholique Panamericaine. 1942. Pp. xiv, 398, 12; 403-794, 20. $5.00 for two vols.)

Johnson, Cecil, *British West Florida, 1763-1783.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 258. $3.00.)

Johnson, Henry, *The Other Side of Main Street.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 263. $2.75.)

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia, and Africa.* Vol. V of the *History of the Expansion of Christianity.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1943. Pp. ix, 526. $4.00.)

McCarthy, Edward J., O.S.A., *Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 145. $2.00.) At a time when Cebu, Panay, and Luzon are so much in the news, it is valuable to have a monograph such as this one of Father McCarthy's on Spain's original undertakings in the islands. This is Volume III of Studies in Hispanic-American History of the Catholic University of America. It contains an Essay on Sources and an adequate Index.

McMahon, John, *American Government.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. 191. $1.50.)

Maillaud, Pierre, *France.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 138. $1.25.)

Mailin, James C., *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six.* Vol. XVII of the Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 794. $5.00.)

Milbank, Jeremiah, Jr., *The First Century of Flight in America.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 248. $2.75.) In eleven chapters this volume relates the history of aviation in the United States. The book is provided with twenty-three Illustrations, over twenty pages of Notes which give careful documentation, and a ten-page Bibliography.

Millares Carlo, Agustín, *Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, Del único modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión.* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica. 1942. Pp. xliv, 593.)

Mizwa, Stephen P., *Nicholas Copernicus, 1543-1943.* (New York: Kosciuszko Foundation. 1943. Pp. 88. 75c.)

Morgan, William T., and (Vol. V) Chloe Siner Morgan, *A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715).* Vols. IV and V. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1941, 1942. Pp. xi, 381; xiv, 487. $6.00; $7.00.)

Mowat, R. B., and Preston Slosson, *History of the English-Speaking Peoples.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 577. $4.00.)

Murphy, Mary E., *The British War Economy, 1939-1943.* (New York: Professional and Technical Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 403. $2.50.) This monograph is a thorough study of Britain's effort on the economic front of the present conflict. It has been written by a member of the Department of Economics of Hunter College and has an Introduction by Herman Finer of the University of London. All aspects of the economic life of Great Britain are covered, e.g., labor, money, taxation, transportation, and regulation of production and consumption of goods. The volume contains a full set of Notes for reference to each chapter and an Index. Miss Murphy's work has a thoroughness of touch which will recommend it to serious students of war-time economics in this country as well as in the British Isles.

Norwood, Frederick A., *The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force.* Vol. V of Studies in Church History edited by Matthew Spinka and Robert H. Nichols. (Chicago: American Society of Church History. 1943. Pp. ix, 206. $3.00.)

Nute, Grace Lee. (Ed.), *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827.* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xix, 469. $5.00.)

————, *Caesars of the Wilderness, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. xvi, 386. $4.00.)

O'Gara, Gordon Carpenter, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of the Modern Navy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 138. $1.50.) In this well-documented monograph Mr. O'Gara continues the series of Princeton books on naval power and its history. The present volume contains a number of helpful charts, a good Bibliography, and an Index. In eight brief chapters the author discusses the main issues of naval policy and technical advance largely from the focal point of Theodore Roosevelt's service to that branch of the government.

Orsenigo, Cesare, *St. Charles Borromeo.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. ix, 390. $4.00.)

O'Sullivan, Jeremiah, and John F. Burns, *Medieval Europe.* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1943. Pp. xi, 770. $4.00.)

Padover, Saul K. (Ed.), *Wilson's Ideals.* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. 151. Paper, $2.00; cloth, $2.50.) The author of *Louis XV* here edits a selection of Wilson's statements on eleven major topics. The volume contains also an Appendix which reprints the Covenant of the League of Nations, a Bibliography of Wilsonian literature, and an Index. The selections from Wilson's speeches and addresses carry numerals to footnotes given at the end of each section of the book which provide the reader with the place and date of the pronouncement.

Pinhão, Tavares, *Bernardino de Campos.* (Ribeirão Prêto, São Paulo: Rosa, Bellonzi & Cia. 1941. Pp. 134.) A subjective, impassioned biography of one of the early leaders of the Brazilian republic.

Rand, Edward Kennard, *The Building of Eternal Rome.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 318. $3.50.)